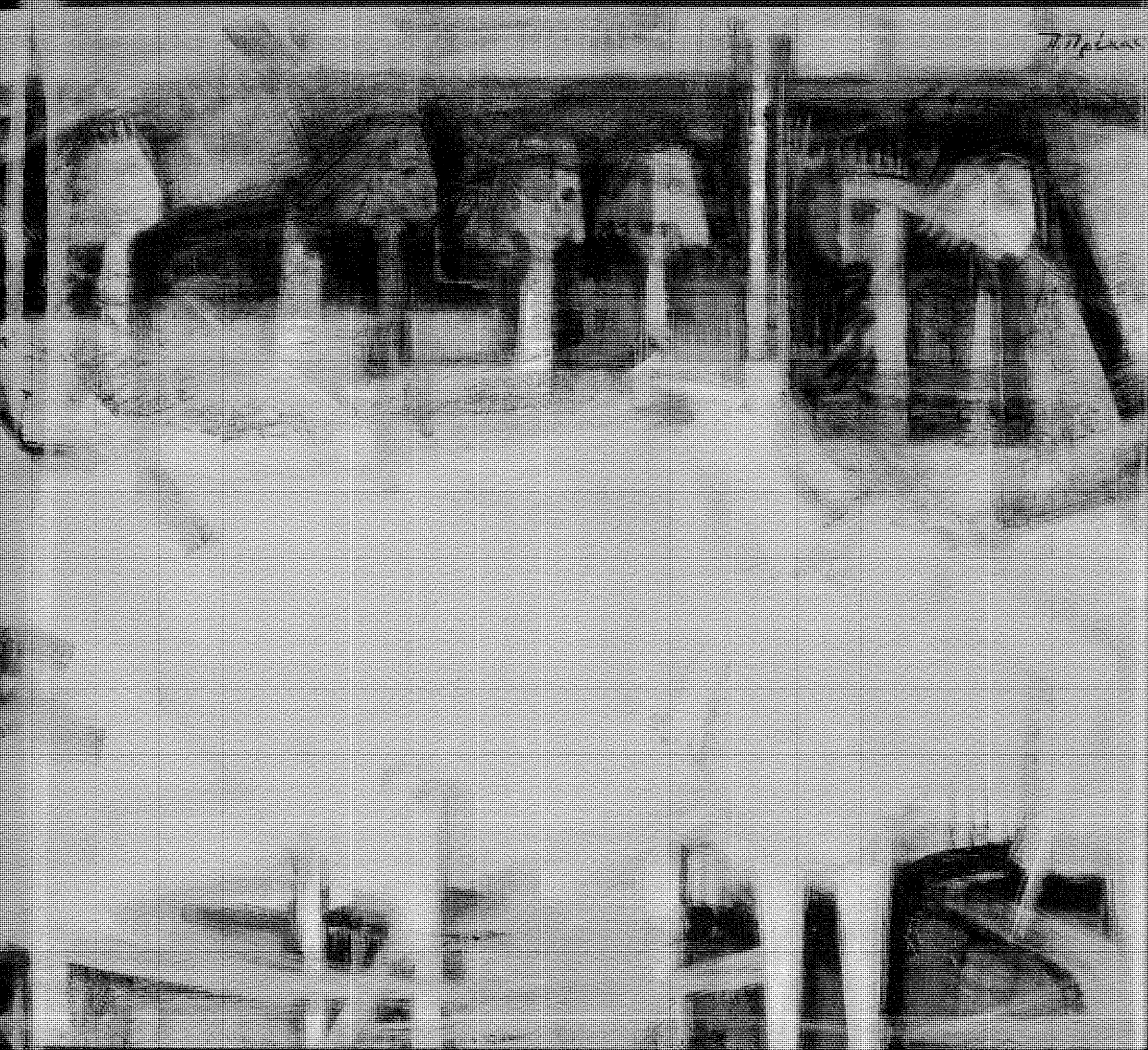


MUSIC AND CULTURAL POLITICS IN GREEK AND CHINESE SOCIETIES

VOLUME 1: GREEK ANTIQUITY

Edited by
DIMITRIOS YATROMANOLAKIS



CULTURAL POLITICS, SOCIOAESTHETICS, BEGINNINGS

MUSIC AND CULTURAL POLITICS
IN GREEK AND CHINESE SOCIETIES

VOLUME I:
GREEK ANTIQUITY

Edited by
DIMITRIOS YATROMANOLAKIS

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PREFACE

Music and Cultural Politics in Greek and Chinese Societies, Volume 1: Greek Antiquity, is the first part of a three-volume set that focuses on the intriguing but often underexplored interaction between music and song-making, on the one hand, and practices of cultural politics, on the other.

The scope of this three-volume set is comparative and transhistorical. Given the abundance of relevant evidence with regard to Greek antiquity, the first volume investigates major aspects of this complex sociocultural phenomenon exclusively in ancient Greek societies, with special emphasis on classical Greek song-making, Athenian drama, Platonic philosophy, and Hellenistic performance culture. Accompanied by an extensive chapter advancing a new cross-disciplinary approach to this sociocultural phenomenon, the second volume explores parallel manifestations of the interplay between music and cultural politics in ancient and medieval Greek and Chinese contexts. Albeit often wide-ranging, current comparative research on China and Greece has paid little or almost no attention to the significant complexities of this area. The third volume focuses on comparative material from ancient, medieval, and modern Chinese and Greek societies across a transhistorical scope of investigation, drawing on a variety of musical and performative genres. The present volume constitutes prolegomena to these wider investigations of music, song-making, and cultural politics in noticeably different Chinese and Greek societies.

Dimitrios Yatromanolakis

Chapter Three

The Economics, Poetics, Politics, Metaphysics, and Ethics of the “New Music”

Eric Csapo

THE CRITICS CRIED “INSURRECTION” AND “BUGGERY” with a vehemence that dumbfounds the modern reader. The extant poetry associated with the New Music contains no overt discussion of politics or ethics. Even the music, so far as we can reconstruct it, is tame by modern standards. The furor had less to do with what was performed than where, how, and by whom. In this chapter, I examine three closely integrated aspects of the New Musical “revolution”: its historical context (section 1), its style (section 2), and its reception (sections 3–5). For us, the story of New Music is mainly the story of its reception by predominantly hostile contemporaries who attacked it on every ground trodden by ancient cultural criticism: political (section 3), theological (section 4), and ethical (section 5).¹

1. “Theater music,” or the economics of New Music

The term “New Music,” written as a proper noun, is useful but misleading. The name Νέα Μουσική, or the like, never appears in antiquity as a genre concept

¹ In this chapter, I employ the following abbreviations for standard critical editions: *PMG* (= D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962); *TrGF* (= B. Snell, R. Kannicht and S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 5 vols. [vol. 1, 2nd ed., 1986], Göttingen 1971–2004); *PCG* (= R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*, 8 vols., Berlin 1983–); *DAGM* (= E. Pöhlmann and M. L. West, *Documents of Ancient Greek Music: The Extant Melodies and Fragments*, edited and transcribed with commentary, Oxford 2001); *Delattre* (= D. Delattre, *Philodème de Gadara: Sur la Musique, Livre IV*, 2 vols., Paris 2007); *W²* (= M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, 2 vols., 2nd rev. ed., Oxford 1989–92).

or even an epoch style. Our term "New Music" is right insofar as the practitioners of the new style described their songs as "novel," or "modern" and opposed them to songs and styles that were "ancient," "old-fashioned," or "traditional."² The critics were even more insistent on the music's newness and difference. There was indeed a lot that was new, and there was a fetishization of novelty that was unprecedented, even if many of the innovations had precedents and even if claims of newness were in fact traditional in ancient Greek song.³ But all these claims to novelty, justified or not, had a common feature that was undoubtedly new. What was really new about New Music was its performance venue. When they spoke generically of music in the "recent" or "modern" style, the ancient critics identified it as "theater music" or "stage music."⁴

It might be helpful to follow the ancient critics in thinking about this music as more "theater" than "new." New Music most affected the theatrical genres of drama and men's or boys' circular choruses (often "dithyramb" in popular speech and in the language of New Music's critics), which were performed in theaters at theatrical festivals.⁵ The acknowledged champions of the new style were tragedians (Euripides and Agathon), or lyric poets (Phrynis, Melanippides, Kinesias, Timotheos, Philoxenos, Krexos, and Telestes) who were chiefly famous for dithyrambs and nomes. Nomes are instrumental pieces with or without solo

² See, especially, Timotheos PMG 791.202–3, 211–13, PMG 796; Euripides *Tr.* 512–15.

³ A. D'Angour, "The 'New Music': So What's New?," in S. D. Goldhill and R. Osborne (eds.), *Rethinking Revolutions*, Cambridge 2006, 264–83; E. Csapo and P. Wilson, "Timotheus the New Musician," in F. Budelmann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric*, Cambridge 2009, 282–83.

⁴ Plato *Leg.* 700a–701d (discussed below); Aristotle *Pol.* 1342a.18; Aristoxenos frs. 26, 29 da Rios; Philodemos *De Mus.* 4, p. 67 Kemke and 13 Kemke (with H. Koller, *Die Mimesis in der Antike*, Bern 1954, 177–78); Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1140d–f, 1142d; Maximus of Tyre *Diss.* 37.4.80–89; Boethius *De Inst. Mus.* 1.1.

⁵ Circular choruses probably did derive from dithyramb, historically, but official terminology was careful to distinguish the former theatrical entertainment from the cultic ritual. In popular speech, however, men's and boys' circular choruses might be called dithyrambs, and were more regularly called so by the critics of New Music, possibly because the term "dithyramb" epitomized New Music's Dionysian character (one of the primary targets of the critics' attacks). In this chapter, I generally conform to the practice of the ancient (and most modern) critics by referring to the Athenian "men's," "boys," or "circular" choruses as "dithyrambs." The distinction, if sometimes tricky, is nonetheless significant: see E. Csapo and M. C. Miller, "General Introduction," in E. Csapo and M. Miller (eds.), *The Origins of Theater in Greece and Elsewhere: From Ritual to Drama*, New York 2007, 8–12; P. Wilson, "Performance in the *Pythion*: the Athenian Thargelia," in P. Wilson (ed.), *The Greek Theater and Festivals: Documentary Studies*, Oxford 2007, 168–69; D. Fearn, *Bacchylides: Politics, Performance, Poetic Tradition*, Oxford 2007, 161–224. A study of this problem by Atticus Cox is forthcoming.

song accompaniment, which, though strictly speaking not a theater genre, were generally composed by the same musicians who composed dithyrambs; they also came to be performed in theaters at large festival competitions. As we will see, the general influence of drama on the dithyramb and nome, indeed the "theatricality" of New Music in the broadest sense, was enough to justify the epithet "theater."

The rise of the theater in fifth-century Athens had a deep impact on the economics and sociology of musical patronage, performance, and spectatorship. With the building of massive theaters and the creation of annual theatrical festivals, certain kinds of musical performance increased in frequency and magnificence. In most democratic states public entertainment outgrew aristocratic patronage. At Athens, theatrical performance depended on a complex combination of public money, private patronage, admission charges (previously unknown at public entertainments), and the capital investment of publicly licensed entrepreneurs.⁶ At the Great Dionysia alone, roughly 29 talents changed hands over the course of five days, more than Hipponikos, the richest man in Greece, could earn in as many years.⁷ Only large states and powerful tyrants were in a position to finance theater.

Theater spread quickly.⁸ By the end of the fifth century Attica had at least six annual theatrical festivals, at least fifteen or sixteen by the mid-fourth, and a minimum of eighteen or nineteen in the late fourth century.⁹ By the last decades

⁶ P. Wilson, "Costing the Dionysia," in M. Revermann and P. Wilson (eds.), *Performance, Iconography, Reception: Studies in Honour of Oliver Taplin*, Oxford 2008, 88–127; E. Csapo, "The Men Who Built the Theaters: Theatropolai, Theatronai, and Arkhitektones," in P. Wilson (eds.), *The Greek Theatre and Festivals: Documentary Studies*, Oxford 2007, 87–115.

⁷ Cost of Dionysia: Wilson 2008 (see above, n. 6). Hipponikos: J. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300 BC*, Oxford 1971, 260.

⁸ Main discussions: R. Frederiksen, "The Greek Theater: A Typical Building in the Urban Centre of the Polis?," in T. E. Nielsen (ed.), *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, Stuttgart 2002, 65–124; E. Csapo, "Some Social and Economic Conditions Behind the Rise of the Acting Profession in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC," in C. Hugoniot et al. (eds.), *Le Statut de l'acteur dans l'antiquité grecque et romaine*, Tours 2004, 53–76.

⁹ Inscriptions or reliable literary evidence guarantee the following latest dates for the inclusion of drama and/or dithyramb: Great Dionysia (ca. 508 BC); Lenaia (ca. 440 BC); Anthesteria (ca. 330 BC); Rural Dionysia at Anagyrus (ca. 440 BC), Ikarion (440–415 BC), Eleusis (late fifth century BC), Thorikos (ca. 400 BC), Akharnai (early fourth century BC), Salamis (early fourth century BC), Aixone (early fourth century BC), Kollytos (ca. 370 BC), Peiraieus (well before 346 BC), Aigilia (before mid-fourth century BC), Paiania (mid-fourth century BC), Halai Araphenides (341 BC), Myrrhinous (ca. 340 BC), Rhamnous (by late fourth century BC), Halai Aixonides (? by late fourth century BC).

of the fifth century theatrical festivals are attested in Makedonia and are probable for Syracuse, Tarentum, Metapontum, Argos, Eretria, and Isthmia. They were widespread in Greece by the mid-fourth century and ubiquitous by the late fourth. We are less well informed about the spread of competitions for dithyramb, but the little evidence we have shows a comparable pattern. "Men's" and "boys'" circular choruses seem first to have begun when the Athenian democracy converted dithyramb into a mass spectacle performed in the theater, around 508 BC.¹⁰ Twenty of these new theater "dithyramps" were included in the democratic reorganization of the Great Dionysia. In Attica, dithyrambic contests spread quickly: to the Greater and Lesser Panathenaia, Thargelia, Hephaistia, and Prometheia by the end of the fifth century; to three or four of the Rural Dionysia by the fourth.¹¹ Outside Athens contests in the circular chorus are attested in the fifth century at Delos and Delphoi, and by the end of the fourth century at Thebes, Keos, Euboa, Iasos, and probably Thasos.¹²

All this suggests that from the last decades of the fifth century Athens was in serious competition for top theatrical talent. For one, the tyrants of Makedonia attracted many artists (allegedly Archelaos could afford to pay the epic poet Choirilos a retainer of 400 drachmas a day), and made permanent residents of New Music's best poets (Melanippides, Euripides, Agathon, and Timotheos).¹³ The received opinion that smaller festivals in Attica and Greece were content to watch reperformances by wandering, second-rate artists is based only on a passage of Plato, which exaggerates to make a rhetorical point, and is in any case demonstrably refutable in several instances: even the Rural Dionysia secured top talent and possibly new works.¹⁴ It was perhaps the rising demand for good performers that induced the Athenian state to assume directly the cost of poets, actors and, possibly, pipers for its theater festivals.¹⁵

¹⁰ Csapo and Miller 2007 (see above, n. 5), 8–12, with further literature.

¹¹ Old Oligarch, *Ath. Pol.* 3.4; G. Ieranò, *Il ditirambo di Dioniso*, Rome 1997, 49–73; P. Wilson, *The Athenian Institution of the Khoregia: The Chorus, the City and the Stage*, Cambridge 2000, 32–40; Wilson 2007 (see above, n. 5).

¹² Ieranò 1997 (see above, n. 11), 74–86; Wilson 2000 (see above, n. 11), 283–301.

¹³ Plato *Rep.* 568a–b, *Symp.* 172c; Aristotle *Pol.* 1311b.33; Schol. on Aristophanes *Ra.* 83; Aelian *Var. Hist.* 13.4; Suda s.v. "Melanippides." For Archelaos and the theater, see J. M. Bremer, "Poets and their Patrons," in H. Hoffmann and A. Harder (eds.), *Fragmenta Dramatica: Beiträge zur Interpretation der griechischen Tragikerfragmente und ihre Wirkungsgeschichte*, Göttingen 1991, 42–44. Choirilos' pay: Istros *ap. Athenaios* 345d. Makedonia and theater: E. Csapo, *Actors and Icons of the Ancient Theater*, Malden, MA 2010, 99–100, 172–82.

¹⁴ Csapo 2004b (see above, n. 8), 62–64, 70–73.

¹⁵ Wilson 2008 (see above, n. 6), 106–8; A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of*

Leisure-class Athenians dominated dramatic poetry and were even prominent among actors until the early fourth century. But by 440–430 BC theater music was performed almost entirely by working-class foreign professionals.¹⁶ Pipers were the first to live entirely from the proceeds of the new mass entertainment industry that would one day number 151 specialized trades.¹⁷ Aristotle maintains that gentlemen amateurs did cultivate pipe music in the pre- and post-Persian War generations, and is even able to cite the case of a choregic-class Athenian who piped in the comedy he himself sponsored in or after 457/454 BC; but his statement that the following generation "rejected the pipes as unworthy of free men" is a sufficient index of the growing importance of wage-earning professionals.¹⁸ The increased frequency, scale, and distribution of theatrical entertainments now afforded musicians a comfortable living, while the theater's very public and competitive arena conferred unprecedented opportunities for

Athens, 2nd rev. ed. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford 1988, 75–76, 90, 93–95. For the payment of poets, see further Bremer 1991 (above, n. 13), 54–56. Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1141c explicitly connects the rise of New Music to the fact that pipers ceased to be paid directly by the poets. Afterward, pipers were chosen and possibly paid by the state, since they, like the actors, were assigned to the *chorêgoi* by lot (Demosthenes 21.13–14).

¹⁶ There is great need for a sociological study of ancient actors. Sutton (D. F. Sutton, "The Theatrical Families of Athens," *American Journal of Philology* 108 [1987], 9–26) is a step in the right direction, but avoids the sociological questions and expresses pessimism about the prospects of such a study. For actors and poets, see M. Kaimio, "The Citizenship of the Theater-Makers in Athens," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 23 (1999), 43–61; O. Taplin, "Spreading the Word through Performance," in S. D. Goldhill and R. Osborne (eds.), *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge 1999, 35. For pipers, see J. Kemp, "Professional Musicians in Ancient Greece," *Greece and Rome* 13 (1966), 213–22; G. Nordquist, "Some Notes on Musicians in Greek Cult," in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence: Proceedings of the Second International Seminar of Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens, 22–24 Nov. 1991*, Stockholm 1994, 81–93; A. Scheithauer, "Musik, musikalische Bildung und soziales Ansehen im frühen Griechentum," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 53 (1996), 1–20; A. Scheithauer, "Les aulètes dans le theater grec de l'époque hellénistique," *Pallas* 47 (1997), 107–27; P. Wilson, "The Aulos in Athens," in S. D. Goldhill and R. Osborne (eds.), *Performance Culture and Athenian Democracy*, Cambridge 1999, 74–75.

¹⁷ R. Wallace, "Speech, Song and Text, Public and Private: Evolutions in Communications Media in Fourth-Century Athens," in W. Eder (ed.), *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: in Fourth-Century Athens*, Stuttgart 1995, 209–11; A. Chaniotis, "Zur Frage der Vollendung oder Verfall einer Verfassungsform?, Stuttgart 1995, 209–11; A. Chaniotis, "Zur Frage der Spezialisierung im griechischen Theater des Hellenismus und der Kaiserzeit auf der Grundlage der neuen Prosopographie der dionysischen Techniten," *Ktema* 15 (1990 [1994]), 89–109. Note that when Aristophanes (*PCG* 696) has Aischylos say "I devised the dance figures for the chorus myself" this is implicit evidence for a class of professional *chorodidaskaloi* in Aristophanes', not in Aischylos', day (as Anderson [W. D. Anderson, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Greece*, Ithaca, NY 1994, 119] supposed).

¹⁸ Aristotle *Pol.* 1341a 26–39; Wilson 1999 (see above, n. 16), 93–95.

musicians to acquire a level of celebrity and social status that an entrenched birth-elite might well envy. By the last quarter of the fifth century, theater pipers were competing for professional distinction internationally.¹⁹ The appearance of pipers' names, even before the poets', on choregic inscriptions, is testimony to the growth of the piper's status and independence in the early fourth century.²⁰ The famous piper Pronomos sits just below the couch of Dionysos at the very center of a vase-painting of about 400 that presents a cast portrait in the style of a votive painting commemorating a dramatic victory (fig. 1).²¹ The fact that the name of Pronomos' son, Oiniades, is inscribed, uniquely for a piper, with patronymic on two Athenian monuments shows just how much clout the new professional dynasts could wield.²²



Figure 1: The "Pronomos Vase," an Attic red-figure volute-krater, Pronomos Painter, ca. 400 BC.

Pipers are the unsung heroes of the New Music. They most felt the economic pressures for virtuosity and innovation that characterized New Music, and it was doubtless these (for the most part anonymous) professionals who introduced many of the technical innovations in music and instruments that ancient tradition ascribes to the better-known poets: at any rate, of the very few pipers whose names are preserved, Pronomos and Antigeneidas were credited with the most significant technical innovations to the pipes.²³ Because pipers never specialized

¹⁹ Kemp 1966 (see above, n. 16), 218; M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford 1992, 366–68.

²⁰ Wilson 2000 (see above, n. 11), 214.

²¹ Naples, NM H 3240; ARV2 1336 (Pronomos Painter); see O. Taplin and R. Wyles (eds.), *The Pronomos Vase and Its Context*, Oxford 2010 and in particular the essays by E. Csapo, "The Context of Choregic Dedication," and P. Wilson, "The Man and the Music (and the Choregos?)," in Taplin and Wyles 2010 (see above, n. 21).

²² Wilson 2000 (see above, n. 11), 215.

²³ J. Landels, *Music in Ancient Greece and Rome*, London 1999, 29–30, 36, and further bibliog-

in any single theatrical genre, as did almost all other theater professionals—poets, actors, and chorus-trainers, they were ideally placed to transmit musical ideas between genres, and in particular between *nome*, drama and dithyramb.²⁴

Theater changed music as it changed the piping profession. Aristocratic patronage was tradition bound and more "sponsor directed."²⁵ It was now replaced by a complex consortium of interests that paid the piper, but lacked sufficient coherence to call his tune. It was rather the dictates of the "star system" that demanded novelty and virtuosity in conspicuous display. "New Music" was chiefly characterized by innovation, variety, versatility and a highly "theatrical" performance style. The piper was no longer content to serve the chorus or even soloists as an invisible backdrop or to limit music's contribution to a mere accompaniment.

The new focus on the pipes, rather than the traditional lyre, facilitated a large number of formal innovations that increased music's variety and subtlety of expression.²⁶ The rage for innovation resulted in technical improvements to increase the range and versatility of the pipes, *kithara*, and lyre. Musicians added new notes and intervals to the traditional scales, introduced new modes, and created new octave species or genera. At the same time, they broke free of traditional rules of consistency and formal symmetry. They dissolved the unity of the vocal and instrumental lines, allowing themselves some room to experiment

raphy, below n. 64.

²⁴ There is no certainly attested case in antiquity of the same poet writing in both tragedy and comedy: see B. Seidensticker, *Palintonos Harmonia*, Göttingen 1982, 14 (no sure counterexample arises from K. Rothwell, "Was Carcinus I a Tragic Playwright?," *Classical Philology* 89 [1994], 241–45; see the reply by S. D. Olson, "Was Carcinus I a Tragic Playwright? A Response," *Classical Philology* 92 [1997], 258–60). We hear of some poets who produced both tragedy and circular choruses: Ion of Chios (*TrGF* 19, T 2a–b, 3); Hippias of Elis, a famous Jack-of-All-Trades (*Plato Hipp. Min.* 368c–d); Anaxandrides (*Chamaeleon fr.* 43 Wehrli); Dikaiogenes (*Harpokration s.v.* Dikaiogenes; *Suda* 8 1064; *Philodemos De Poem.* 4 col. 10). It is not until 100 BC that we find actors performing in both tragedy and comedy (Seidensticker 1982 [see above, n. 24], 15–16; P. Ghiron-Bistagne, *Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique*, Paris 1976, 135). Even whole theatrical families seem never or almost never to have mixed genres (Sutton 1987 [see above, n. 16], 10). Pipers by contrast specialized late and far less: see Scheithauer 1997 (above, n. 16), 113–14.

²⁵ Bremer 1991 (see above, n. 13), 59.

²⁶ The best general survey is West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 356–72. The essays in S. Hagel and C. Harrauer (eds.), *Ancient Greek Music in Performance*, Vienna 2005, are helpful on technical points: see the essays by J. C. Franklin, "Hearing Greek Microtones," 9–49, and S. Hagel, "'Twenty-four in Auloi.' Arist. *Met.* 1093b, the Harmony of the Spheres, Another Formation of the Perfect System," 51–91.

with harmonic effects, counterpoint, and ornament.²⁷ They moved freely from one mode to another, and from one rhythm to another, within a single composition.²⁸ Versatility was enhanced by discarding the structure of strophic response in favor of an astrophic "free" verse. An ancient theorist speaks of liberating the music for the greater mimetic powers of professional actors and musicians.²⁹

Dithyramb hosted the most radical innovations. It stood between the nome and drama and borrowed musical ideas from each. The nome allowed greater scope for musical virtuosity since it was either purely instrumental (auletic and kitharistic nomes) or, if it involved solo song by the musician (kitharodic nome) or an accompanist (aulodic nome), nonetheless came to include large segments of purely instrumental music. The nome first developed an astrophic and polymetric "free" form at a time when other genres had strophic response. Melanippides, who composed in both genres, is said to have been the first to abandon strophic response in dithyramb and vary the choral performance with instrumental and vocal solos, including solos accompanied by the lyre in place of the traditional pipes.³⁰ But for its narrative and performance style, New Music borrowed directly from drama. Boardman argues that Melanippides first incorporated solos in *Marsyas*, a dithyramb narrating the contest for musical supremacy between Apollo and Marsyas, in turn displaying the god's virtuosity on the lyre and the satyr's skill on the newly invented pipes.³¹ If so, the mythical contest was not merely narrated by the chorus but acted by the musicians in the style of a dramatic *agôn*. This would be the first known occurrence

²⁷ A. Barker, "Heterophonia and Poikilia: Accompaniments to Greek Melody," in B. Gentili and F. Perusino (ed.), *Mousikê: Metrica, ritmica e musica greca in memoria di Giovanni Comotti*, Pisa and Rome 1995, 41–60.

²⁸ Modulation: S. Hagel, *Modulation in altgriechischer Musik: Antike Melodien im Licht antiker Musiktheorie*, Frankfurt 2000; J. C. Franklin, "Diatonic Music in Greece: A Reassessment of its Antiquity," *Mnemosyne* 56 (2002), 693–98; J. C. Franklin, "'Songbenders of Circular Choruses': Dithyramb and the 'Demise of Music,'" in B. Kowalzig and P. Wilson (eds.), *Dithyramb in Context*, Oxford, forthcoming. Rhythm: Aristophanes *Thesm.* 121; Dionysios of Halikarnassos *Comp.* 19; C. Kugelmeier, *Reflexe früher und zeitgenössischer Lyrik in der alten attischen Komödie*, Stuttgart and Leipzig 1996, 228–29 (with further literature); M. L. West, "Metrical Analyses: Timotheus and Others," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 45 (1982), 1–13.

²⁹ Ps.-Aristotle *Pr.* 918b.

³⁰ Aristotle *Rh.* 1409b; A. Barker, *Greek Musical Writings. Vol. 1: The Musician and his Art*, Cambridge 1984, 93; West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 205–6.

³¹ J. Boardman, "Some Attic Fragments: Pot, Plaque and Dithyramb," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 76 (1956), 19. See also Wilson 1999 (see above, n. 16), 66–68; cf. T. Power, "Kyklops Kitharoidos," in Kowalzig and Wilson, forthcoming (see above, n. 28).

of a general trend toward dramatic mimesis in choral and musical performance. Dramatization offered musicians an opportunity to display their virtuosity *conspicuously*, emerging from the background to stand virtually as actors, at the focal point of the narrative as well as the performance.

Musicians were eager for a larger presence in the theater and a larger share of the audience's attention. Theophrastos names the pipers Andron of Katane and Kleolas of Thebes as the "first inventors" of the rhythmic gyrations of the body that were commonplace by his day.³² Pronomos is said to have "delighted his audience somewhat excessively both with his facial expressions and with the movements of his entire body."³³ Some pipers used dramatic effects to insert themselves more fully into a choral narrative. Timotheos' piper imitated a storm at the climax of *Nauplios*, the screams of a woman in labor in *The Birth Pangs of Semele*, and made a mime of dragging off the *koryphaioi* in *Skylla*, doubtless while reproducing the monster's wild hisses and roars through his instrument.³⁴ Aristotle complains of "vulgar" pipers who wheeled about in imitation of a discus, and elsewhere blames such showmanship on the tastes of "a vulgar audience [that] tends to debase music, so that it makes even musicians performing for it take on a certain character and transforms their bodies through movement."³⁵ Even the piper's costume could play a mimetic role: Antigeneides is said to have worn appropriately effeminate shoes and a *krokotos* while piping for Philoxenos' *Komast*.³⁶

The poets encouraged this kind of role-playing by musicians. It offered them an opportunity to incorporate musical ideas that were beyond the range of the average large volunteer chorus (as all choruses were at Athenian festivals, at least until 317 BC). The Pratinas fragment, which should probably be

³² Theophrastos fr. 92 Wimmer; I. Stephanis, *Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνῖται*, Herakleion 1988, 50, 262.

³³ Pausanias 9.12.5–6.

³⁴ Athenaios 338a, 352a; Dion Chrysostomos 78.32; Aristotle *Poet.* 1461b.30. Cf. the νῆγλαροι with which Timotheos is said (by Pherekrates PCG 155) to have filled Music. On νῆγλαροι, see D. Restani, "Il Chirone di Ferecrate e la 'nuova' musica greca," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 18 (1983), 186–90; West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 362 and n. 26; M. Telò, *Eupolidis Demi*, Florence 2007, 285–90. The nome had already developed some trivial forms of performative mimesis. As early as 586 BC, Sakadas displayed his virtuosity in performing the *Pythikos Nomos* by imitating the sounds of gnashing teeth and hissing serpents on the pipes when narrating Apollo's battle with the snake Pytho: see West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 213–14.

³⁵ Aristotle *Poet.* 1461b.30, *Pol.* 1341b.15–18.

³⁶ Suda s.v. "Antigeneides." Cf. West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 367. For komastic transvestism, see M. C. Miller, "Reexamining Transvestism in Archaic and Classical Athens: The Zewadski Stamos," *American Journal of Archaeology* 103 (1999), 223–53.

dated to the late fifth century, presents a self-referentially musicological *agôn* in which the piper contends with a chorus of satyrs for the hegemony of music over words.³⁷ In Aristophanes' *Birds* the piper took on the role of the nightingale in an explicit parody of the New Musical style.³⁸ Late fifth- and early fourth-century comedy shows a clear trend toward "metatheatrical" inclusion of the piper in the performance.³⁹

The poets of dithyramb experimented with other means of enhancing the musical and dramatic quality of their compositions—generally at the cost of the chorus's traditional unity. In the dithyramboid hymn by pseudo-Arion, an "Arion," possibly the *koryphaios*, seems to interact with the rest of the chorus who play the part of dolphins.⁴⁰ Role differentiation is also apparent in the lyric duet sung by "Agathon" and his chorus in Aristophanes' parody of Agathonian New Music in *Thesmophoriazousai*.⁴¹ In his *Kyklops* Philoxenos went a stage

³⁷ TrGF 4, fr. 3. For a late fifth-century date, see, among others, H. Lloyd-Jones, "Problems of Early Greek Tragedy," *Cuadernos de la Fundación Pastor* 13 (1966), 11–33; Webster in A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, second revised ed. T. B. L. Webster, Oxford 1962, 17–20; B. Zimmermann, "Überlegungen zum sogenannten Pratinasfragment," *Museum Helveticum* 43 (1986), 145–54; R. Hamilton, "The Pindaric Dithyramb," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 93 (1990), 211–22. An early date is supported by R. Seaford, "The 'Hyporchema' of Pratinas," *Maia* 29–30 (1977–78), 81–94; R. Seaford, *Euripides: Cyclops*, Oxford 1984, 13–14; R. Seaford, *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State*, Oxford 1994, 268 n. 349; M. J. H. van der Weiden, *The Dithyrambs of Pindar*, Amsterdam 1991, 5–7; West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 343; Ieranò 1997 (see above, n. 11), 219–26; M. Napolitano, "Note all' iporchema di Pratina (PMG 708 = TrGF 14 F 3)," in A. Cassio et al. (eds.), *Synaulia: Cultura musicale in Grecia e contatti mediterranei* (AION filol.-lett. 5), Naples 2000, 111–55; A. Barker, *Euterpe: Ricerche sulla musica greca e romana*, Pisa 2002, 56; P. Cipolla, *Poeti minori del drama satiresco*, Amsterdam 2003; L. Prauscello, "Epinician Sounds' and their Reception: Pindar and Musical Innovation," in P. Agocs et al. (eds.), *Reading the Victory Odes*, Cambridge (forthcoming 2012). The piece is described as a "hyporcheme" by Athenaios who quotes it (617b–f). In Plato's *Ion* 534c, where the term is first attested, this is not a genre, but a mode of composition found in dithyramb, *enkomion*, epic, and iambic poetry.

³⁸ A. Barker, "Transforming the Nightingale: Aspects of Athenian Musical Discourse in the Late Fifth Century," in P. Murray and P. Wilson (eds.), *Music and the Muses: The Culture of "Mousikê" in the Classical Athenian City*, Oxford 2004, 185–204.

³⁹ O. Taplin, *Comic Angels and Other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase-Paintings*, Oxford 1993, 70–78.

⁴⁰ PMG 939; see E. Csapo, "The Dolphins of Dionysus," in E. Csapo and M. C. Miller (eds.), *Poetry, Theory, Praxis: The Social Life of Myth, Word and Image in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2003, 69–98 with further literature. C. M. Bowra, "Arion and the Dolphin," *Museum Helveticum* 20 (1963), 128–29 supposes that the part of Arion is played by an actor.

⁴¹ Aristophanes *Thesm.* 101–29. Cf. P. Mureddu, "Il poeta drammatico da didaskalos a mimes: alcuni aspetti della critica letteraria in Aristofane," *Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli sez. filol.-lett.* 4/5 (1982–83), 84.

further in introducing an actor to play the part of the *Kyklops* and to sing a monody to the *kithara*, a duet with the chorus, and possibly a duet with a second actor playing Odysseus.⁴² Aristophanes' parody of the Philoxenos has the actor switching from the role of Polyphemos to that of Kirke, while the chorus switch from the role of Polyphemos' sheep and goats to that of Odysseus' companions turned into pigs.⁴³ The dithyramb had become fast-clip operatic drama.

Krexos mixed genres still further by introducing the recitative verse of drama into the dithyramb.⁴⁴ Even the kitharodic nome became more dramatic, and certainly more dithyrambic.⁴⁵ Timotheos famously used a *kithara* with many more strings than the traditional, expanding its range to rival the pipes;⁴⁶ he altered the kitharodic nome's stately language to give it the pathos and volubility of the dithyramb;⁴⁷ he is even said to have given it a chorus.⁴⁸ Plato, in his complaint about genre-mixing in *Laws* (700d), specifically mentions "poets who imitated pipe-music on the *kithara*." The influence of drama is also apparent in the preference in New Musical nome and dithyramb for dramatic narrative in direct speech, developing a feature that goes back at least to Bacchylides.⁴⁹

⁴² PMG 819, 820; Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1142a = Aristophanes PCG 953; D. F. Sutton, "Dithyramb as Δρᾶμα: Philoxenos of Cythera's *Cyclops* or *Galatea*," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 13 (1983), 37–43.

⁴³ Aristophanes *Pl.* 290–321; Mureddu 1982–83 (see above, n. 40), 79; G. Dobrov and E. Urios-Aparisi, "The Maculate Muse: Gender, Genre, and the *Chiron* of Pherecrates," in G. Dobrov (ed.), *Beyond Aristophanes: Transition and Diversity in Greek Comedy*, Atlanta 1995, 168–70.

⁴⁴ Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1141a–b; Philodemos *De Mus.* 4.6 (Neubecker, = X 1 ff. Kemke); Pickard-Cambridge 1962 (see above, n. 37), 54; for a different view of the Philodemos passage, see Neubecker *ad loc.*

⁴⁵ T. Power, *The Culture of Kitharoidia*, Washington, DC 2011, 57.

⁴⁶ Pherekrates PCG 155; Pausanias 3.12.9–10; Athenaios 636e; Proklos *Chrest.* in Photios *Bibl.* 320a 33ff.; Nikomachos *Harm.* 274.5. The sources sometimes exaggerate Timotheos' role in ascribing the addition of strings as a technical innovation to the *kithara*, but eleven strings were used as early as Ion of Chios and Phrynis had also experimented with a larger than normal range: see Ion fr. 32 W², Plutarch *Prof. virt.* 84a, *Agis* 10; Csapo and Wilson 2009 (see above, n. 3), 283–85; T. Power, "Ion of Chios and the Politics of Polychordia," in V. Jennings and A. Katsaros (eds.), *The World of Ion of Chios*, Leiden 2007, 179–205. For artistic representations of multi-stringed kitharas: see the kalyx-krater by the Peleus Painter, Ferrara T 617, ARV2 1038.1 (ca. 440–430 BC) and the oinochoe by the Meidias Painter, Ruvo, Jatta 1538, ARV2 1314.16 (420–410 BC).

⁴⁷ Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1132d. Phrynis had already made significant moves in this direction: H. Schönewolf, *Der jungattische Dithyrambos: Wesen, Wirkung, Gegenwirkung*, Diss. Gießen 1938, 28.

⁴⁸ Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 1.79.1, reasonably doubted by Power forthcoming (see above, n. 31).

⁴⁹ Direct quotation in New Music: S. Bassett, "The Place and Date of the First Performance of the *Persians* of Timotheus," *Classical Philology* 26 (1931), 161; W. Kranz, *Stasimon: Untersuchungen zu Form und Gehalt der griechischen Tragödie*, Berlin 1933, 259; G. Bruschich, "La lingua di Timoteo,"

Small wonder then that Aristotle lumps the nome and dithyramb together with tragedy and comedy in classifying mimetic arts that use all the modes of musical mimesis, or that he freely cites examples from dithyramb in his discussions of dramatic mimesis.⁵⁰

Even dramatic music became more mimetic and more histrionic. The late plays of Euripides contain frequent astrophic and polymetric monodies. As the Aristotelian *Problems* (918b) observes, the greater complexity of astrophic and polymetric music favors trained actors over amateur citizen choruses. The extant Sophokles has no or little actor's monody; in all but six tragedies Euripides has one or two, mostly from plays datable to the late 420s onward.⁵¹ There is also an increase in duets between actor and chorus, and particularly an increase in astrophic and freely structured lyric exchanges: Popp finds the later forms of Euripidean exchanges "strongly influenced by monody," and characterized by "mimetic elements and musical effects."⁵² Doubtless the actors were as keen as the musicians to display their musical talents. These developments go a long way toward explaining the dwindling importance of the dramatic chorus to late fifth-century drama. But even the choral odes came under the spell of New Music. Astrophic choral song appears in later Euripides and is ascribed to Agathon by Aristophanes' parody in *Thesmophoriazousai*, while strophic stasima have increasingly lengthy astrophic epodes.⁵³ The poetry of many later Euripidean odes reproduces the New Musical style as we know it from the fragments of dithyramb and nome, from information given by the critics, and from comic parodies. I will argue that this New Musical style, to which we now turn our

Quaderni triestini per il lessico della lirica corale greca 1 (1970), 76–77; O. Panagl, "Zur Funktion der direkten Reden in den dithyrambischen Stasima des Euripides," *Wiener Studien* 6 (1972), 5–18; J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama: Early Tragedy and the Greek Poetic Tradition*, Berkeley, CA 1985, 154 and 156–57; B. Zimmermann, "Gattungsmischung, Manierismus, Archaismus, Tendenzen des griechischen Dramas und Dithyrambos am Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.," *Lexis* 3 (1989), 39–54; J. Porter, *Studies in Euripides' "Orestes"*, Leiden 1994, 203.

⁵⁰ Aristotle *Poet.* 1447b.24–7, 1454a.30–31. Cf. G. Kirkwood, *Early Greek Monody: The History of a Poetic Type*, Ithaca, NY 1974, 87; Csapo and Wilson 2009 (see above, n. 3), 289.

⁵¹ E. Csapo, "Later Euripidean Music," *Illinois Classical Studies* 24–25 (1999–2000), 407; M. Pintacuda, *La musica nella tragedia greca*, Cefalù 1978, 165–66; G. A. Privitera, "Aspetti musicali nella storia del ditirambico arcaico e tardo-arcaico," *Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli sez. filol.-lett.* 13 (1991), 153.

⁵² H. Popp, "Das Amoiabaion," in W. Jens (ed.), *Bauformen der griechischen Tragödie*, Munich 1971, 229, 264–73 (quotation p. 273). Sophokles has only two astrophic exchanges (*Tr.* 871–95, *TrGF* 210.29–56 (*Eurypylos*) and two astrophic epodes following strophic exchanges, both from his latest plays (*Ph.* 1169–1217, *OC* 208–53).

⁵³ Csapo 1999–2000 (see above, n. 51), 407.

attention, is conditioned, even in its more minute idiosyncrasies, by the material and economic conditions of theater-performance in the later fifth and fourth centuries.

2. Pipe music, or the poetics of New Music

Economic forces encouraged theater pipers to develop their showmanship, originality and virtuosity in performance. This meant an enormous expansion in dithyramb and drama of the range and intensity of those effects that only music, and especially pipe music, could produce. New Musical poets attempted to maximize the musical element in song, both by giving the musician free rein to strut his expertise and by writing in a style calculated to complement and often to highlight the music, encouraging mimetic play between voice and pipes, words and sounds, verse and musical form.

The double-*aulos* ("pipes") might be called the "material cause" of the new style. Peter Wilson has shown how stark a contrast Athens drew between the pipes and stringed instruments, especially the lyre.⁵⁴ Though heavily overdetermined by ideological divisions within Athens, the opposition was not without some foundation in the real or perceived nature of the pipes. They were contrasted with strings both for their limitations and their versatility.

The most bruited limitation of the pipes is that they, unlike strings, stop the mouth. This could be interpreted as robbing a performer of his *logos* (speech and reason) and hence of the instrumentality of the free citizen. Aristotle is explicit on both counts: the pipes are not to be used in education because pipe music is "orgiastic" and because "it hinders the use of one's *logos*."⁵⁵ Indeed the voice of another, of the pipes themselves, is said to emanate from the player's mouth, speaking with a tongue that is not the player's tongue (the reed, called *glōtta*, "tongue," is inserted into the player's mouth). At the same time the pipes also disfigure the face: the lips are puckered, the cheeks puffed out, so that the face becomes bloated like a mask or *gorgoneion* and unrecognizable (this is why both Athena and Alkibiades rejected them).⁵⁶ The pipes thus at once obliterate voice, reason, identity and individuality. For this reason pipers are often represented frontally in ancient Greek vase-painting, normally an index of an extraor-

⁵⁴ Wilson 1999 (see above, n. 16); "Euripides' 'Tragic Muse,'" *Illinois Classical Studies* 24–25 (1999–2000), 427–50; "Athenian Strings," in Murray and Wilson 2004 (see above, n. 38), 269–306.

⁵⁵ Aristotle *Pol.* 1341a; Wilson 1999 (see above, n. 16), 85–95.

⁵⁶ Wilson 1999 (see above, n. 16), 59–64, 87–91.

dinary state of mind, and especially possession, and normally possession by Dionysos.⁵⁷ In addition to the mind and face, they destroy the symmetry of the body, protruding awkwardly, and setting it in motion, like a tail wagging a dog or, rather, like the Dionysiac phallus, invading and controlling its possessor.⁵⁸ Stringed instruments by contrast embellish the voice of the player, sit with Apollonian grace on the body, decorously respect its contours, and extend, rather than diminish its control.

The critics of New Music developed these oppositions. They treated it as a reversal of the traditional hierarchy of *logos* (= word/logic/argument) over sound. "A song is *logos*," Plato insists, and mode and rhythm are to follow the words" (*Rep.* 398d). Music was, and should be, nothing more than a "sweetener" added to language (*Ar. Poet.* 1449b.28-29). The opposition of song and music appears already in the "hyporcheme" ascribed to Pratinas: "The Muse made song queen. Let the pipes dance in her train. It is a servant."⁵⁹

Most often, however, it is the greater versatility of the pipes that emerges from any contrast between them and stringed instruments. Stringed instruments have only a limited number of notes (in performance, musicians normally did not change the length or tension of their strings, which they played open). Even a standard concert-*kithara* had only seven strings (which New Musicians increased to eleven or twelve). By contrast, a piper could produce many times that number of notes, while his lips and breath worked together to produce a far greater range in volume and tone color.⁶⁰ Plato knew the pipes as the "most many-

⁵⁷ See, especially, Plato *Symp.* 215c; Aristotle *Pol.* 1342b; Wilson 1999 (see above, n. 16); E. Csapo, "Riding the Phallus for Dionysus: Iconology, Ritual and Gender-Role De/construction," *Phoenix* 51 (1997), 257.

⁵⁸ For the phallic conception of the pipes, see Wilson 1999 (see above, n. 16), 69-70, 72, 83; for the Dionysiac conception of the phallus, see Csapo 1997 (see above, n. 57). Note that some ancient theorists thought erections caused by an influx of air: T. Hopfner, *Das Sexualleben der Griechen und Römer*, Prague 1930, sec. 2.2.

⁵⁹ We should be cautious about thinking that Pratinas concurs with this vindication of the sovereignty of the verbal over the musical line. The piece is written in a New Musical style, and is probably a dithyramb. The words are spoken by a chorus of satyrs who are better suited to parody elite critics than to serve as bona fide champions of Apollonian *logos*; moreover, the claim that the Dorian mode (or style?) is most appropriate for Dionysos has troubled many scholars who are inclined to take the satyrs' criticisms at face value. The fragment preserves only the chorus's side of a debate with the piper, who may well have clinched the argument by responding with a virtuoso performance.

⁶⁰ Landels 1999 (see above, n. 23), 34-36; A. Barker, "Text and Sense at *Philebus* 56a," *Classical Quarterly* 37 (1987), 106-7 (referring especially to Aristoxenos *Harm.* 43.1-6; Theophrastos *HP* 4.11.1-7).

noted" of instruments.⁶¹ Indeed, their range might be perceived as not merely great but absolute: the pipes were described as capable of emitting all sounds and voices, and as a result were deemed the most mimetic of instruments.⁶² The New Musicians made a virtue of the pipes' natural versatility: Euripides is said to have "first used a large range of notes" and "many more genera and more variety than his predecessors."⁶³ Pronomos further enhanced the versatility of the pipes by a device that permitted quick shifts, possibly a rotating collar that blocked and opened holes, so that the same pair of pipes could play in all modes.⁶⁴

Closely related is a third distinctive feature of the *aulos*, its volubility. Once the lyre or *kithara* was tuned, each string produced a clear, distinct and invariable sound. But the advance tuning of the *aulos* through the adjustment of the reed was just one of several factors contributing to the pitch and quality of its notes. Unlike the sound of strings, the sound produced by pipes—notoriously—depended on factors present only at the moment of performance: not just the fingering but the pressure of the performer's breath, and the tension and position of the lips on the reed.⁶⁵ These factors were variable from moment to moment and so too were the actual sounds produced when one attempted to "capture" or "hit" a note. Aristoxenos finds the pipes useless for the theoretical study of harmonics since pipers "for the most part fail to attain the proper tones," and indeed "every sound produced by the pipes alters in accordance with the agencies through which it is produced."⁶⁶ To Plato, this volubility in performance made the "whole art of pipe-playing" a matter of practiced guesswork involving "a great deal that is uncertain/indistinct (τὸ μὴ σαφές) mixed into it and little that is sure/stable (τὸ βέβαιον)."⁶⁷ The pipes' reputation for indistinctness and instability was only made worse by the remarkable fact that, by contrast to the distinct and clearly articulated tones of stringed instruments, the pipes can glide from one note to another, giving the impression of a constant and confused flux of sound. Plato likened pipe music to a beast in flight: "the whole art of

⁶¹ Plato *Rep.* 399d. Cf. Pindar *Ol.* 7.11-12, *Pyth.* 12.19-21, *Isth.* 5.27; *PMG* 947 (Simonides?); Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1141c.

⁶² Pindar *Pyth.* 12.19 (πάμφωνον); Plato *Rep.* 399d 4; Wilson 1999 (see above, n. 16), 92-93.

⁶³ Anon. *On Tragedy* 5.39 Browning.

⁶⁴ Pausanias 9.12.3; Athenaios 631c; West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 87; Landels 1999 (see above, n. 23), 29-30, 36; Hagel 2005 (see above, n. 26), 88-89; D'Angour 2006 (see above, n. 3).

⁶⁵ Barker 1987 (see above, n. 60), 106-7.

⁶⁶ Aristoxenos *Harm.* 54.2-4 da Rios (adapting the translation of A. Barker, *Greek Musical Writings. Vol. 2: Harmonic and Acoustic Theory*, Cambridge 1989, 158). For Aristoxenos on pipes, see Franklin 2005 (see above, n. 26), 16-19.

⁶⁷ Plato *Philb.* 56a7, with the crucial discussion by Barker 1987 (see above, n. 60).

pipe-playing hunts the proper pitch of each note [i.e., of each and every note during actual performance] by shooting at it as the note moves.”⁶⁸ The sentiment was strongly endorsed by Aristoxenos: “pipes are in flux and never stay the same”; “more than any other instrument they wander, because of the craft of pipe-making, because of manual techniques, and because of their own peculiar nature.”⁶⁹ There are thus two types of perpetual movement that characterize the pipes: one arising from an inability to control the production of notes to reproduce exact tones; the other arising from the constant flux of sound as it glides from one note to the other. By nature Dionysiac, the pipes are like satyrs, the auletes of myth, whom Lissarrague describes as being in “perpetual movement, as though they were incapable of controlling their bodies.”⁷⁰ In contrast to the notes of the pipes, the notes of strings were thought stable and precise: the Aristotelian *Problems* recommends pipe-accompaniment to the voice, especially for bad singers, since the dissimilarity and precision of the lyre would make the singers’ errors more conspicuous, as if measuring them against a “yardstick.”⁷¹

The fourth distinctive feature of pipe music is its manyvoicedness, its polyphony, or more strictly speaking, its diphony, since it is the double-pipes that were the standard instrument for theatrical performance. There is controversy about the relationship of the sounds produced by the two pipes, but vase-paintings “of auletes...almost always seem to show the fingers of both hands equally busy, as though both were playing quite complex patterns of notes,” and Pseudo-Plutarch’s *On Music* speaks of the interplay of the pipes and the “conversations” (διάλεκτοι) they hold with one another.⁷² The pipes were thus literally and fundamentally “many-voiced.”⁷³ It is true that ancient music did not

⁶⁸ Plato *Phlb.* 56a 5–6 (trans. Barker 1987 [see above, n. 60], 109 with minor adjustment).

⁶⁹ Aristoxenos *Harm.* 54.2–3, 54.9–10 da Rios. Franklin 2005 (see above, n. 26), 18 notes that “there is ... an interesting resonance between [Aristoxenos’ “wander”] πλανᾶται and the mosaic in the house of Aion in Paphos, showing the contest of Apollo and Marsyas, above whose head πλάνη is written.”

⁷⁰ F. Lissarrague, “On the Wildness of Satyrs,” in T. Carpenter and C. Faraone (eds.), *Masks of Dionysus*, Ithaca, NY 1993, 212.

⁷¹ Ps.-Aristotle *Pr.* 922a. The Greek saying cited by Cicero, “those who cannot become citharodes become aulodes,” possibly echoes this notion (Cicero *Mur.* 29; Quintilian *Inst.* 8.3.79).

⁷² Barker 1995 (see above, n. 27), 43–46; Barker 1984 (see above, n. 30), 227, n. 140, 243; Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1144c, 1138b.

⁷³ It was also, of course, possible to strike several strings at once on the lyre or *kithara*. Indeed, the pipes were even more restricted by nature since the *auloi* produced only two sounds simultaneously. But the number of chords available to the player of seven to eleven open strings was very limited and chords seem not to have been used with great frequency. For chords on the *kithara* accompanying song, see Barker 1995 (see above, n. 27), 49.

make extensive use of harmonics or polyphony, but the common impression that they were totally absent, or at best marginal, is wrong and largely due to the silence or hostility of our sources, since this was another realm of New Musical experimentation.⁷⁴

A fifth distinctive feature was the *aulos*’s capacity for uninterrupted play, that is, a capacity to sustain a single tone, or to move without pause from one tone to another. In the fifth century, professional pipers developed this capacity of their instrument. Ancient sources usually explain the use of the halter or *phorbeia* by professional pipers as an aid to breath control, designed to help regularize the flow of breath into the pipes.⁷⁵ This has long been received as evidence that the *phorbeia* helped produce softer and longer (continuous) tones (or series of notes) by preventing loss of breath around the sides of the mouthpiece and/or by helping the musician to maintain even pressure.⁷⁶ Comparative evidence suggests that the *phorbeia* did more than permit the lengthening of notes: it facilitated the technique of circular breathing by which breath stored in the cheeks is pushed through the mouthpiece while the piper inhales through the nostrils, with the result that a piper can play indefinitely without pausing for air.⁷⁷ Vase-painting frequently shows the piper’s cheeks—even without the *phorbeia*—puffed up like a chipmunk’s. So long as instrumental music merely followed song, pipe music’s potentiality for sustained tones or phrases remained underdeveloped.

New Musical verse expressed New Music’s essential musicality—indeed its essentially auletic form of musicality—at all levels of language: the phonic, the syntactic, and the semantic.

⁷⁴ Barker 1995 (see above, n. 27), especially p. 50.

⁷⁵ Schol. on Aristophanes V. 582; Suda s.v. φόρβιον; Plutarch *De Cohib. Ira* 456b–c; Simonides (cited by Plutarch *loc. cit.*) fr. 177; Sophokles *TrGF* 768.

⁷⁶ L. Purser, “Capistrum,” in W. Smith, et al. (eds.), *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, vol. 1, London 1890, 357; W. How, *Cicero: Select Letters*, vol. 2, Oxford 1926 104; D. MacDowell, *Aristophanes: Wasps*, Oxford 1971, 211 (on Aristophanes V. 582). A. Howard, “The Αὐλός or Tibia,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 4 (1893), 29–30, reasonably points to the *phorbeia*’s additional benefit in aiding to support the pipes leaving the hands freer for play.

⁷⁷ C. Sachs, *A Short History of World Music*, London 1956, 36; F. Romer, “When is a Bird not a Bird,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 113 (1983), 141; D. Paquette, *L’Instrument de musique dans la céramique de la Grèce antique: Études d’organologie*, Paris 1984, 33; West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 106–7. Cf. Kantharos [Cantharus] PCG 1.

Phonemes

Play with the sound of words or syllables for rhythmic or harmonic effects is found in all ancient Greek lyric, but the purely phonic aspects of language gain unprecedented importance in New Musical verse. In part this may simply be explained through the centrality of dithyramb, since the repetition of words or syllables, for example, is typical of hymn and cultic song, especially Dionysiac song.⁷⁸ New Dithyramb and New Music conspicuously revived this feature of old cultic dithyramb.⁷⁹ Repetition is both relatively rare in Sophokles and especially characteristic of Euripides' late style (most notably in corresponding parts of strophe and antistrophe).⁸⁰ The style also cultivated the sound echoes of homoioteleuton, assonance, and alliteration.⁸¹

"Sound figures" generally form part of the emotive and mimetic program of New Music. Repetition can imitate and intensify the emotional hue of the verse: in late Euripidean lyrics repetition is typical with words of high passion or urgency.⁸² Mimetic intentions are often evident in the sound-play of the verse: in

⁷⁸ E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI*, 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1927 (reprint. 1957), 136–37; E. R. Dodds, *Euripides: Bacchae*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1960, 80; W. S. Barrett, *Euripides: Hippolytus*, Oxford 1964, 169; A. Henrichs, "Changing Dionysiac Identities," in B. Meyer and E. Sanders (eds.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition. Vol. 3. Self-Definition in the Greco-Roman World*, London 1982, 156; F. Bornmann, "Simmetria verbale e concettuale nelle responsioni dei canti strofici in Euripide," in R. Pretagostini, *Tradizione e innovazione nella cultura greca da Omero all'età ellenistica: Scritti in onore di Bruno Gentili*, Rome 1993, 565–66, 574–76; A. Bierl, *Der Chor in der alten Komödie*, Munich 2001, 357.

⁷⁹ Anadiplosis in New Dithyramb: Timotheos PMG 791.129; Pratinas TrGF 4, fr. 1.3; Diagoras PMG 738.1 (Diagoras is called a διθυραμβοποιός by Sextos Empeirikos Math. 9.53). Repetition was also characteristic of nome: see Proklos Chr. in Photios Bibl. 320b.12; T. Fleming, "The Musical Nomos in Aeschylus' Oresteia," *Classical Journal* 72 (1977), 224. Anaphora, often together with anadiplosis: e.g., Timotheos PMG 791.76; Pratinas TrGF 4, fr. 1.3; Euripides El. 169, Ph. 679–80, 686, Or. 323, IA 785, Ba. 143–44.

⁸⁰ Sophokles: R. W. B. Burton, *The Chorus in Sophocles' Tragedies*, Oxford 1980, 24 (and index s.v. repetition); Bornmann 1993 (see above, n. 78), 566–68. Euripides: Kranz 1933 (see above, n. 49), 231; W. Breitenbach, *Untersuchungen der euripideischen Lyrik*, Stuttgart 1934, 234ff.; Dodds 1960 (see above, n. 78), 80; Bornmann 1993 (see above, n. 78), 569; Porter 1994 (see above, n. 49), 179.

⁸¹ Bruschich 1970 (see above, n. 49), 66; B. Zimmermann, *Dithyrambos: Geschichte einer Gattung*, Göttingen 1992, 121; for Euripides, see Breitenbach 1934 (see above, n. 80), 214 ff. This feature of New Music is parodied in Aristophanes Av. 1374, 1376, 1384–85, 1396–97, 1400.

⁸² E.g., Euripides Hipp. 525; El. 585; Ion 1066, 1231; Tr. 804, 806, 840, 1066, 1077, 1090; IT 402; Hel. 118, 1118, 1163, 1462, cf. 1341; Ph. 679, 681, 819, 1091, 1030, 1054, 1286; Or. 324, 339; IA 183, 587; Ba. 68, 83, 107, 116, 152, 163, 986; and the parodies at Aristophanes Ra. 1336, 1352–55, on which see B. Zimmermann, "Parodia metrica nelle Rane di Aristofane," *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 81 (1988), 42. The style is not always appreciated by modern textual critics, who,

Phoinissai's ἐκάλεσ' ἐκάλεσα βαρβάρῳ βοᾷ ἰώ, βαρβάρους λιταῖς, βᾶθι βᾶθι (678–81, "I called I called with a barbarian shout, oh, with barbarian prayers, come, come") the anadiplosis, anaphora, and alliteration combine in imitation of the barbarian barking of which they speak.⁸³

The prioritizing of sound over sense can be found in another feature of New Music. Traditional music is said to have respected the verse in fixing the quantity of notes, one per syllable. New Musicians notoriously assigned two or more notes to a syllable of verse ("melism") or two or more syllables to a note. The Rainer Papyrus of Euripides' *Orestes*, which probably preserves something of Euripides' original score, freely stretches single syllables over two notes, as do a group of probably fourth-century musical fragments of tragedy, citharodic nome, or dithyramb, in a papyrus in the Ashmolean Museum.⁸⁴ The effect is parodied in the "Euripidean" monody of *Frogs* (1314, 1248) where a line from *Electra* has its first syllable repeated anywhere from five to seven times. There can be little doubt that the melism appeared in Euripides' original, and still less doubt that Aristophanes exaggerates the number of repetitions.⁸⁵

The prioritization of sound over sense can also be exemplified by the treatment of pitch accent. Dionysios cites the *parodos* of *Orestes* to illustrate violation of the principle that "music thinks it proper to subordinate the words to the tune and not the tune to the words."⁸⁶ He describes a number of instances where accented syllables are sung to the same note or a lower note than adjacent syllables. The musical papyri of *Orestes*, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, and the Oxford "C fragments" also show multiple violations of speech tones.⁸⁷

like their ancient counterparts, find the New Musical style weak in sense and syntactic economy, and are, for that reason, too ready to suspect diplography or intrusive glosses. D. Mastronarde, *Euripides: Phoinissae*, Cambridge 1994 (see ad Ph. 697) is an exception.

⁸³ Paronomasia is very common in jingling puns, especially where sound mimics sense: see, e.g., Melanippides PMG 759, 761; Likymnios PMG 770a–b; Euripides Hel. 1344, Ph. 808–11; and the parodies at Aristophanes Av. 1401, Ra. 1334.

⁸⁴ DAGM nos. 3 and 5, especially p. 39. The fidelity of the musical papyri to original scores is open to question. See L. Prauscello, *Singing Alexandria: Music between Practice and Textual Transmission*, Leiden 2006, which includes a detailed discussion of the Euripidean musical papyri.

⁸⁵ See, especially, E. Pöhlmann, *Griechische Musikfragmente: Ein Weg zur altgriechischen Musik*, Nürnberg 1960, 29–48; E. K. Borthwick, "New Interpretations of Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1249–1328," *Phoenix* 48 (1994), 31–32. Five notes to a syllable is extravagant and not paralleled until much later in ancient music. DAGM no. 57 has a six-note melism, DAGM no. 41 has a nine-note melism (see W. Johnson, "Musical Evenings in the Early Empire: New Evidence from a Greek Papyrus with Musical Notation," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 120 [2000], 75).

⁸⁶ Dionysios of Halikarnassos Comp. 11 = DAGM no. 2.

⁸⁷ DAGM nos. 3, 4, 6.

A musical papyrus in Berlin has been ascribed to the *Mad Ajax* of Timotheos, the most notorious of New Musicians, partly on the grounds of the music's violation of the natural quantities of the verse through melism and silences, and its complete indifference to natural pitch, which it violates nine out of ten times!⁸⁸ Paradoxically, it is for this reason that West and Pöhlmann deny the possibility of it being a New Dithyramb.⁸⁹ Their premise is that such violations are an index of strophic composition. It is generally assumed that strophic songs do not normally correspond in accent as well as in meter, because of the difficulty that the task of writing two stanzas containing words of precisely the same metrical and melodic shape would impose on poets (and the fact that melodic accents do not precisely correspond between the words of a tragic strophe and antistrophe). There are, however, a number of studies that challenge this view. Walström's study of early lyric (select odes of Sappho, Alkaios, Alkman, and Pindar) argues that these earlier composers did tend to place words with the same accent in corresponding parts of a strophic composition.⁹⁰ More recently a study of three tragic odes by Comotti shows a tendency to preserve accent-pitch between strophe and antistrophe in Aischylos and Sophokles and a relative but measurable tendency to ignore it in Euripidean drama.⁹¹ Landels demonstrates an essential correspondence between strophe and antistrophe in the "Ode to Man" of Sophokles' *Antigone* and concludes that in early strophic lyric generally "some compromise was made, by delaying or advancing rises and falls of pitch in the *antistrophe*, so that essentially the same melodic outline was adapted to the different words."⁹² The question of the tonal correspondence between words and music in strophic composition remains open. The lack of correspondence between pitch accent and musical tone in the *Orestes* papyrus may not therefore

⁸⁸ DAGM nos. 17–18; 2 TrGF 683. Ascribed to *Mad Ajax* by A. Bélis, "Un Ajax et deux Timothée (P. Berol. no. 6870)," *Revue des Études Grecques* 111 (1998), 74–100, and C. Del Grande, *Ditirambografi: Testimonianze e frammenti*, Naples 1946, 89–90. Surviving scores appear to respect pitch accent about 85 percent of the time (L. Gamberini, *La parola e la musica nell'antichità*, Florence 1962, 23–66). For pitch accent in general, consult W. S. Allen, *Accent and Rhythm: Prosodic Features of Latin and Greek*, Cambridge 1973, 231–34.

⁸⁹ DAGM p. 58.

⁹⁰ E. Wahlström, "Accentual Responsion in Greek Strophic Poetry," *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* (Soc. Scient. Fenn. Helsinki) 47 (1970), 1–23. But Anderson 1994 (see above, n. 17), 95 analyzes P. Ol. 2 and finds no pattern. For background to the question, see Pintacuda 1978 (see above, n. 51), 67–72.

⁹¹ G. Comotti, "Melodia e accento di parola nelle testimonianze degli antichi e nei testi con notazione musicale," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 32 (1989), 91–108.

⁹² Landels 1999 (see above, n. 23), 124–28.

be significant, since it preserves music from the antistrophe of the play's first stasimon. But the controversy does not affect the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* papyrus, since it belongs to an epode (and is hence not strophic). In all three cases where the melodic line for an entire word survives the melody does not respect the spoken accent.⁹³

The musical papyri reveal yet another way in which the music differed from the verbal line. The *Orestes* papyrus includes notation for both instrument and voice and they are different.⁹⁴ The polyphonic character of the pipes was thus further extended in the relationship between the voices of the pipes and the voice of the singer, which offers a further example of a violation to the (alleged) tradition of unison between voice and instrument.⁹⁵

Syntax

The syntax of New Musical verse expresses the new priority of music over verse in other ways. The new style shows a clear preference for long periods (very often the length of the entire verse stanza), with few strong sense-pauses. Aristotle draws an explicit analogy between the "continuous style" in prose composition (λέξις εἰρομένη) and New Dithyramb.⁹⁶ Demetrios calls it "the loosened-up style," λέξις λελυμένη.⁹⁷ The critics regularly describe the New Music, apparently both verse and music, as loose and wandering. They compare it to the unending, formless, and circuitous movements of ants.⁹⁸ A general lack of correspondence

⁹³ A reassuring contrast to the freedom of late Euripidean and post-Euripidean drama is a musical papyrus, recently published by Bélis, that can be ascribed to the *Medea* of Karkinos the Younger, who shows every indication of being reactionary in both poetic and musical style: there is no violation of natural pitch and, to anticipate a few topics of discussion, no exuberant language, no modulation, no chromatism, and only the mildest extension of natural syllable length (A. Bélis, "Un papyrus musical inédit au Louvre," *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 2004, 1317, 1320, 1321, 1326). Assuming the papyrus reflects the style of the original musical setting, it is little wonder that Philodemos chooses him as a foil to the brilliance of Euripides (P.Herc. 994, *De Poem.*, col. 25.10 Sbordone = 1 TrGF 70, T 7) or that the famous New Musician, Stratonikos (Wilson 2004 [see above, n. 54], 290–92), should have honed his wit at the expense of Karkinos' music (Athenaios 351f = 1 TrGF 70, T 8).

⁹⁴ West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 277–78, 284–85; Barker 1995 (see above, n. 27), 47.

⁹⁵ Pratinas TrGF 4, fr. 3.12 (with Barker 1995 [see above, n. 27], 46–47, 55–56); Plato *Leg.* 812d–e.

⁹⁶ Aristotle *Rh.* 1409a, cf. 1409b.24–30; R. Fowler, "Aristotle on the Period (*Rhet.* 3.9)," *Classical Quarterly* 32 (1982), 91. For the use of musical terminology in rhetoric, see J. Chailley, "Le mythe des modes grecs," *Acta Musicologica* 28 (1956), 151 n. 4; Restani 1983 (see above, n. 34), especially pp. 152–54.

⁹⁷ Fowler 1982 (see above, n. 96), 93–94.

⁹⁸ Aristophanes *Thesm.* 99–100; Suda s.v. "Philoxenos."

between musical rhythm and word- or phrase-ending heightened the effect.⁹⁹ New Musical syntax might best be described as agglutinative. The verse was infamous for its extravagant compounds,¹⁰⁰ concatenations of adjectives, nouns, or participial phrases, and the stringing of subclauses, usually paratactically, often asyndetically.¹⁰¹ Rejecting the logical organization and syntactic variation of hypotaxis, the poets of New Music preferred paratactic strings of parallel syntagms, as they preferred concatenating strings of different rhythmic *metra*, to achieve an incantatory effect, accelerating or adding to the impetus of the music. By amassing short phrases and postponing the marked pause of the period, the poet abandoned natural speech rhythms in imitation of the rapid short cola and longer periods of pipe music. In this way New Music exploited the potentiality of the pipes for indefinitely sustained tones and phrases, echoing and amplifying the new auletic virtuosity in the winding and agglutinative style of its verse.

Semantics

The priority of music over logic is also apparent at the semantic level. Aristotle found the agglutinative style ugly and formless because not goal-oriented and not permitting the normal anticipations that facilitate comprehension.¹⁰² To be sure, the style is not well-adapted to the efficient transfer of information, but this was never the objective. New Music's verse style aimed at a more musical or poetic form of communication.¹⁰³ The longer syntactic units added to the impetus of the music; they compelled the intellect to press onward, with the

⁹⁹ T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides*, London 1967, 20; Porter 1994 (see above, n. 49), 203.

¹⁰⁰ Antiphanes PCG 205; Plato *Crat.* 409c; Aristotle *Poet.* 1459a.8, *Rh.* 1406b.1–2; Demetrios *De Eloc.* 91; Schol. on Philostratos *Vit. Apoll.* 1.17. Parodied: Aristophanes *Nu.* 332 ff.; *Pax* 831, *Av.* 1380, 1384–85, 1389–90, 1393 ff., *Ra.* 1336 (with K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes: Frogs*, Oxford 1993, *ad loc.*). See U. von Wilamowitz, *Timotheos: Die Perser*, Leipzig 1903, 45–46; Bowra 1963 (see above, n. 40), 125–26; Brussich 1970 (see above, n. 49), 71–76; C. Collard, *Euripides: Hecuba*, Warminster 1991, 187 (ad Euripides *Hekabe* 1056–1106); H. G. Nesselrath, *Die attische Mittlere Komödie: Ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin 1990, 243–44; Zimmermann 1992 (see above, n. 81), 121. Unlike the heavy, powerful and carefully managed compounds of poets like Aischylos or Pindar, these compounds are said by Schönewolf 1938 (see above, n. 47), 25, to be “Mittel, ein intellektuell Geschaffenes in die Höhe des mitreissenden, Dichterpathos hinaufzusteigern.”

¹⁰¹ Aristotle *Rh.* 1409a.24; Kranz 1933 (see above, n. 49), 239–40; Brussich 1970 (see above, n. 49), 65; and in comic parody: R. Hunter, *Eubulus: The Fragments*, Cambridge 1983, 167; Zimmermann 1988 (see above, n. 82), 39; Nesselrath 1990 (see above, n. 100), 244. This feature New Music may have acquired from nome: Fleming 1977 (see above, n. 79), 225.

¹⁰² Aristotle *Rh.* 1409a–b; Fowler 1982 (see above, n. 96); cf. Restani 1983 (see above, n. 34), 152.

¹⁰³ To use Jakobson's precise formulations, the new style is set toward “emotive” and “poetic”

surge of the music, in search of elusive grammatical closure. Unsited to the development of clear logical progressions, the new verse cultivated a (more musical) logic of association, bypassing the intellect and appealing to the senses, the subconscious and the emotions. As the Stagyrite himself puts it, the professional music composed for competition was geared more to pleasure than self-improvement, just as pipe music aimed at a “flushing of emotions [*katharsis*] rather than instruction [*mathêsis*].”¹⁰⁴

New Music placed a higher premium on the connotative values of words. Its vocabulary was far-flung, its expressions riddling and circumlocutory.¹⁰⁵ It cultivated an agglutinative semantics to match its syntax, amassing images, rather than naming concepts. For “arrow” Timotheos says “slender-winged, bronze-headed, string-tautened things.”¹⁰⁶ The pseudo-Arion does not say “dolphins” but “floating, lightly leaping, snub-nosed, ruffle-necked, swift-running, whelps, beats, music-loving nurslings of Nereids.”¹⁰⁷ The preference for images to concepts is typically combined with an appeal to the senses, especially to the ear and eye of the mind.¹⁰⁸ The imagery is sumptuous, seductive, luxurious, and

rather than “referential” communication (R. Jakobson, *Roman Jakobson: Selected Writings*, vol. 3, edited by S. Rudy, The Hague 1981, 21–29).

¹⁰⁴ Aristotle *Pol.* 1341b.11–12, 1331a.23–24.

¹⁰⁵ Especially rich in archaism, glosses and neologisms: Antiphanes PCG 205; Schol. on Aristophanes *Nu.* 335; Brussich 1970 (see above, n. 49), 70–76; Nesselrath 1990 (see above, n. 100), 250–51; Zimmermann 1992 (see above, n. 81), 145–46. For its riddling language: I. Waern, *ΓΗΣ ΟΣΤΕΑ: The Kenning in Pre-Christian Poetry*, Uppsala 1951, 92–104, 132–38; Brussich 1970 (see above, n. 49), 67–69; Hunter 1983 (see above, n. 101), 155; Nesselrath 1990 (see above, n. 100), 259–64; Kugelmeier 1996 (see above, n. 28), 262–64; E. Csapo, “New Music's Gallery of Images: The ‘Dithyrambic’ First Stasimon of Euripides’ *Electra*,” in J. R. C. Cousland and J. R. Hume (eds.), *The Play of Text and Fragments: Essays in Honour of Martin Cropp*, Leiden 2009, 104–8. The enigmatic style may be a development from traditional dithyramb and Dionysian art, cult, and mysteries generally (though not exclusively, since it can also be found in lyric poets like Pindar and Simonides), see R. Seaford, “On the Origins of Satyric Drama,” *Maia* 28 (1976), 209–21; Seaford 1977–1978 (see above, n. 37); R. Seaford, “Dionysiac Drama and the Dionysiac Mysteries,” *Classical Quarterly* 31 (1981), 254–55; R. Seaford, “Immortality, Salvation and the Elements,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 90 (1986), 19–20; G. Casadio, *Storia del culto di Dioniso in Argolide*, Rome 1994, 96–99; and K. Tsantsanoglou, “The First Columns of the Derveni Papyrus and their Religious Significance,” in A. Laks and G. Most (eds.), *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus*, Oxford 1997, 95, 120–23.

¹⁰⁶ Timotheos PMG 791.30–1.

¹⁰⁷ West 1982 (see above, n. 28), 8–9.

¹⁰⁸ Images: V. di Benedetto, “Il rinnovamento stilistico della lirica dell'ultimo Euripide e la contemporanea arte figurative,” *Dioniso* 43 (1971–1974), 326–33; Csapo 2003 (see above, n. 40); Csapo 2009 (see above, n. 105). Ornamental epithets: Brussich 1970 (see above, n. 49), 66. Sounds:

contributes to the aesthetic effect referred to since ancient times as *poikilia*.¹⁰⁹ The poetic ornamentation of the new style was conceived of as patterning and “colors.”¹¹⁰ The terms reveal a further homology between poetic and musical styles. *Poikilia* is a term often used for musical complexity, while “color” came to refer both to the addition to traditional tunings of microtones to enhance resonance and to a new system of tuning, developed in the mid- to late fifth century, called the “chromatic genus.”¹¹¹ Both are closely associated with New Music. Aristotle approved of “colors” for the gratification of the inferior audience of mechanics and laborers who could only respond to music at an emotive level.¹¹² Both “colors” and *poikilia* served to produce a sensuous and emotional intoxication appropriate to Dionysian art.

Above all it was the volubility of the verse that defied ready intelligibility. Its structural freedom permitted all manner of lurches and leaps. Sentence structure not only meandered but was susceptible to grammatical derailment: the subjects of potential main clauses were sometimes left hanging and verbless, forgotten as the verse ambled into a series of dependent relative or participial clauses.¹¹³ A much more common and serious obstacle to intelligibility was rapid changes in both music and verse, which produced an effect of *heteroglossia*, analogous to the many-voicedness of the pipes. Because of its frequent shifts in mode, meter, and manner of delivery, the musical style came to be described as “broken,” or “fragmented” (*melos keklasmenon* or *epikeklasmenon*).¹¹⁴ The epithet might just as well have been applied to the verse, with its penchant for sudden changes of

speaker through the use of direct quotation, which also entailed sudden shifts in vocabulary and diction, because of the New Music’s greater interest in *êthopoieia*.⁸ Plato was particularly upset by the use of direct speech in poetic narrative, alleging that it required “all modes and all rhythms if it is to be delivered properly, since it involves all manner of shifts.”¹¹⁵ Indeed, the plurality of instrumental and human voices mixed freely together: instrumental solos followed or even disrupted song.¹¹⁶ The new style also cultivated abrupt shifts in narrative place, time, and mood.¹¹⁷ Taken altogether, the voluble rhythm and melody, the strange vocabulary, the chaotic syntax, the vague but emotionally nuanced and colored language, the sudden ruptures in the music, song, and narrative, and the displacement of linear argument with often rapid and baffling concatenations of images—all could conspire to create a dizzying effect of giddiness, if not outright hysteria.

The critics especially attacked New Dithyramb for volubility, volatility, lack of substance, and aimlessness. Plutarch speaks of dithyramb as “full of shifts that contain wandering and wrenching displacement.”¹¹⁸ Aristotle warns speechwriters away from the style of dithyrambic prologues because “the undefined wanders aimlessly.”¹¹⁹ The comic poets especially ridiculed the songs for lightness, airiness, and mistiness.¹²⁰ Aristotle remarks that dithyrambic poets are “full of noise”; Dionysios that dithyramb is “full of sound and high sentence, but signifies little.”¹²¹ It told tales like an idiot: the expression “you make even less sense than a dithyramb” was apparently proverbial.¹²²

3. The “people’s music,” or the politics of New Music

It would be difficult to argue that politics motivated New Music in any fundamental way. The poets and musicians were mainly interested in exploring the potentialities of musical form. But politics was very much a part of New Music’s

Kranz 1933 (see above, n. 49), 243; Zimmermann 1986 (see above, n. 37), 150; Csapo 1999–2000 (see above, n. 51), 419–23.

¹⁰⁹ Kranz 1933 (see above, n. 49), 242–43; Zimmermann 1992 (see above, n. 81), 123–24.

¹¹⁰ Plato *Rep.* 601a–b, *Gorg.* 465b and *Phdr.* 239d (where the terms seem to be used with an eye to rhetoric); Hermogenes *Stat.* 5, 278 Rabe; Cicero *Brut.* 87, 298, *De Orat.* 3.25.100, *ad Quint. fr.* 2.14; J. C. G. Ernesti, *Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae*, Leipzig 1795, 384–85; H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, Munich 1960, 511, sec. 1061; Restani 1983 (see above, n. 34), 180–83; Kugelmeier 1996 (see above, n. 28), 235–39. Cf. *χρῶννύειν* and the Latin rhetorical terms *pingere* and *ornare*.

¹¹¹ For musical *poikilia*, see Edith Hall, “The Politics of Metrical Variety in the Classical Athenian Theater,” Chapter 1 here; Franklin forthcoming (see above, n. 28). For “colors,” see E. Rocconi, “Colors in Music: Metaphoric Musical Language in Greek Antiquity,” in E. Hickmann and R. Eichmann (eds.), *Studien zur Musikarchäologie IV*, Rahden 2004, 29–34; Franklin 2005 (see above, n. 26), 24–38.

¹¹² Aristotle *Pol.* 1342a.25.

¹¹³ Csapo 2003 (see above, n. 40), 72, 77.

¹¹⁴ Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1138c; Philodemos *De Mus.* 4, col. 128.25 (Delattre, p. 244); Plutarch *Pyth. Orac.* 397b 1; Loukianos *Demonax* 12.6; Schol. on Aristophanes *Nu.* 971a.

¹¹⁵ Plato *Rep.* 397b.

¹¹⁶ Above, p. 72; Bélis 1998 (see above, n. 88), 78–85.

¹¹⁷ Panagl 1972 (see above, n. 49), 235–36.

¹¹⁸ Plutarch *De E apud Delphos* 389a.9–10.

¹¹⁹ Aristotle *Rh.* 1415a.

¹²⁰ Aristophanes *Pax* 827, *Nu.* 332 ff., *Av.* 1388–90 (with scholia); Schol. on Aristophanes *Thesm.* 100; Athenaios 551d. Cf. Zimmermann 1992 (see above, n. 81), 119–21; Kugelmeier 1996 (see above, n. 28), 231–35.

¹²¹ Aristotle *Rh.* 1406b 1–2; Dionysios of Halikarnassos *Dem.* 7.17–19, cf. 23, *Ep. ad Pomp.* 2; Plato *Phdr.* 241e; *P.Berol.* 9571, col. 2 (πλήρε[ις κ]αὶ ψόφους).

¹²² PCG *adesp.* 843.

reception. Growing up, as it did, in the polarized atmosphere of the "radical democracy" of Athens, New Music's program of "liberating" music from traditional constraints was more than a little suggestive.

A political interpretation of New Music was encouraged, above all, by the language used to describe its innovations. The boldest of these were marked by terms like *polychordia*, *polytrêtia*, *polymetria*, *polyharmonia*, *polychrômia*, *polykampteia*, and *polyphônia*, which stressed the pluriformity and broad inclusiveness of New Music.¹²³ Nearly as common are words like *metaballein*, *kamptein*, *aiolein*, *poikillein*, which stress the music's heterogeneity, variability, and adaptability.¹²⁴ The character of the New Music was typically described by words like *apolelumenos* or *eklelumenos*, which signified the "liberation" of the verse from formal structures such as strophic responsion, or by words like *aneimenos* and *chalaros*, which are used of loosening of the strings of the *kithara*, and hence of the tunings and modes based on these shorter intervals, but which also imply a release from constraints or a loosening of bonds.¹²⁵ If the terminology does not go back to the innovators themselves, there can be little doubt that they embraced it, since pluralism, change, and liberation had positive value for the broader public in late fifth-century Athens (and other parts of Greece touched

by democratic ideology). New Musicians employed the terms to flag the abundance, variety, and variability in their verse.¹²⁶

It was the critics who politicized the music. Though their attacks on all aspects of New Musical performance are as multifarious and inventive as the New Music itself, there are three strategies of defamation that seem to dominate the written record of this particular struggle. One is play with language. The critics contested the technical musical terminology, imbued it with negative ethical and political meanings, and twisted "liberation" words in the direction of "indiscipline" and "anarchy," "variability" words in the direction of "lack of control" and "revolution," and "plurality" words in the direction of "excess" and "mob-rule."¹²⁷ The second strategy is theoretical speculation on the political, ethical, and eschatological effects of music. The elite theorists characterized New Music and its practitioners as effeminate, barbarous, vulgar, and likely to infect their audiences with the same qualities. The third strategy is historical fiction. The critics invented a timeless musical tradition to which they gave an ethical stamp that was opposed to New Music in every way: very manly, very Greek, and very noble.

Male versus female

Around 440 BC, Damon claimed that music affects the movements of the soul and thereby affects character, for good or ill.¹²⁸ Aristides Quintilianus reports that Damon labeled specific notes male or female according to their ethical effects, and specific scales male or female according to the proportion of male or female notes. If not Damon himself, then Damon's followers—the music professors (*harmonikoi*), Plato, Aristotle, Herakleides, Aristoxenos, and Diogenes of

¹²⁶ E.g., Timotheos PMG 791.221, 232; Telestes PMG 805c (with Wilson 1999 [see above, n. 16], 68), 806.3, 808.4; P.Berol. 13270, l. 8, with B. Bravo, *Pannychis e simposio: Feste private notturne di donne e uomini nei testi letterari e nel culto*, Pisa 1997, 72–99. Pratinas PMG 712 (doubtless the New Musical Pratinas) puns on αἰολίζειν and the Aeolian mode. Cf. comic parody: e.g., Aristophanes Ra. 245, 247–48.

¹²⁷ In the lost third book of *De Musica* Philodemos apparently criticized the role homonymy played in the ethical tradition of musical criticism inherited by the Stoics: see Philodemos *De Mus.* 4, cols. 60–61 (Delattre, p. 121).

¹²⁸ On Damon, see R. Wallace, "Damone di Oa ed i suoi successori: Un' analisi delle fonti," in R. Wallace and B. Maclachlan (eds.), *Harmonia Mundi: Musica e filosofia nell'antichità*, Rome, 1991, 30–54; R. Wallace, "Damon of Oa: A Music Theorist Ostracized?," in Murray and Wilson 2004 (see above, n. 38), 249–68; E. Moutsopoulos, "Beauté et moralité musicales: Une initiative damonienne, un idéal athénien," in F. Malhomme and A. G. Wersinger (eds.), *Mousikè et Aretè: La musique et l'éthique, de l'antiquité à l'âge moderne*, Paris 2007, 39–44.

¹²³ *Polychordia*: Plato *Rep.* 399c–d, *Leg.* 812d; Artemon *ap. Athenaios* 636c; Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* 661d.6, 662a.7, 674e.10, 713a.10; "Spartan decree" *ap. Boethius De Inst. Mus.* 1.1; Psellos *De Trag.* 5 Browning (cf. PMG *adesp.* 29b; Euripides *Med.* 196, *Rhes.* 548; Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1137a–b; Theokritos 16.45. *Polytrêtia*: Pollux 4.80; Nonnos *Dion.* 3.236, 15.56; Manetho 2.334; Anon. *De Phil. Plat.* 14.11 Westerink; *Anthologia Graeca* 7.214.3, 9.266.1, 9.505.5. *Polymetria*: Athenaios 608c; cf. Aristotle *Poet.* 1447b.21, 1460a.2. *Polyharmonia*: Plato *Rep.* 399c–d. *Polychrômia*: Psellos *De Trag.* 5 Browning. *Polykampteia*: Pollux 4.66–67, 73. *Polyeideia*: Ps.-Aristotle *Pr.* 918b.16; Philodemos *Mus.* col. 1 B 40 (= p. 64 Kemke); Psellos *De Trag.* 5 Browning. *Polyphônia*: Pollux 4.67, 4.70; Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* 674e.10; Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1141c; "Spartan Decree" *ap. Boethius De Inst. Mus.* 1.1; Dion Chrysostomos *Or.* 2.56.7; cf. Plato *Leg.* 812d (*heterophônia*).

¹²⁴ Timotheos PMG 802; Aristophanes *Nu.* 869–70; Pherekrates *PCG* 155.14–5; Plato *Leg.* 812d; Aristotle *Metaph.* 993b.15; Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1141c, 1142d; H. Abert, *Die Lehre vom Ethos in der griechischen Musik*, Leipzig 1899, 81–82; R. Winnington-Ingram, *Mode in Ancient Greek Music*, Cambridge 1936, 19–21; I. Düring, "Studies in Musical Terminology in Fifth-Century Literature," *Eranos* 43 (1945), 184; Restani 1983 (see above, n. 34), 157–77; Zimmermann 1992 (see above, n. 81), 140–41; B. Zimmermann, "Das Lied der Polis: Zur Geschichte des Dithyrambos," in A. Sommerstein et al. (eds.), *Tragedy, Comedy and the Polis*, Bari 1993, 52; Kugelmeier 1996 (see above, n. 28), 212–16, 249–53. For the meaning and use of *aiolos*: R. Dyer, "On Describing Some Homeric Glosses," *Glotta* 42 (1964), 127–29; Anderson 1994 (see above, n. 17), 90–92; Franklin forthcoming (see above, n. 28).

¹²⁵ Düring 1945 (see above, n. 124), 180; LSJ *s.v.* ἀνίμμι II 6, 7 (LSJ = H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. with a revised supplement, Oxford 1996); Pherekrates *PCG* 155.4; Aristotle *Pol.* 1340b.3–7, 1342b.22; Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1126e, 1136e; Hephaistion *Poem.* 3.3; Plutarch *De Unius in Rep.* 827b; Suda *s.v.* Ἀγαθώνιος αἰλησις.

Babylon—all accepted a gendered classification of modes or genera.¹²⁹ To this Damonion chorus we may justly add, with Philodemos, “the comic poets.”¹³⁰

We are fortunate to have remnants of both sides of the debate on the ethical effects of music. A papyrus preserves a protest, by a theoretician, probably of the fourth century, who attacks the *harmonikoi* for claiming that “some melodies make people disciplined, others make them sensible, others just, others manly and others cowardly.”¹³¹ The view that music has no ethical, only an aesthetic, function was probably picked up by the Epicureans, but the tradition does not resurface in extant literature before Philodemos.¹³²

Both modes and genera remain at issue throughout the long history of the debate. Though earlier theorists seem to have located the chief expression of music’s ethical quality in the modes, later theorists, particularly after Aristoxenos, placed it in the genera.¹³³ The Hibeï sophist also names the genera as specifically at issue: “[The *harmonikoi*] are hardly conscious of the fact that the chromatic genus could not produce cowards any more than the enharmonic could make its users manly” (15-17).

It is fairly clear that much of the elaboration of Damonian theory was directed against New Music’s experimentation with the “colors” that made music “softer,” “sweeter,” more sensual and more emotional through the introduction of new microintervals and the mixing of scales. “Colors” were particularly associated with women and with the New Musicians Euripides, Philoxenos, and especially Agathon.¹³⁴ Plato complains of mixing men’s speech with “women’s colors and songs.”¹³⁵ Plutarch identifies Agathon’s introduction of the chromatic genus into tragedy as the chief reason for the general censure of Agathon’s music as effeminate.¹³⁶ Philodemos would later protest against the views of Diogenes

of Babylon, and (through him) against Herakleides and the whole Damonian tradition, that

Music in itself does not produce the effects that he asserts as if an absolute certainty, and it does not tempt men or women to disgraceful forms of intercourse, nor tempt adolescent youths to adopt the female role. Neither he nor the comic poets have shown anything of the sort in the music of Agathon or Demokritos; they merely allege it.¹³⁷

Indeed the comic poets leave no doubt that Agathon was part of the debate by the late fifth century. They ridiculed him “for softness and effeminacy” (εἰς μαλακίαν... εἰς θηλύτητα).¹³⁸ The portrait of Agathon as drag queen that we find in Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazousai* may owe something to the fact that Agathon was a famous *pais kalos* in his day, but it most certainly also owes a lot to contemporary music criticism. In *Gerytades* Aristophanes appears to have called effeminate pipe music “Agathonian,” an expression that later became proverbial for music that was “soft and loose” (μαλακή καὶ ἐκλελυμένη).¹³⁹ In *Thesmophoriazousai* it is not just Agathon but his song that is “womanish” (131). The response of the Inlaw to the sound of Agathon’s song makes it likely that Aristophanes is also poking fun at Damonian theory: while listening to its erotic and effeminate tones, the Inlaw declares, “a sexual itch crept into my very fundament” (133).¹⁴⁰

Instruments too—not just poets, musicians, and audiences—could be given a gendered classification, at least in later antiquity, according to fifth-century categories of tradition and innovation: Aristides Quintilianus classi-

¹²⁹ See Wallace 1991 (see above, n. 128), 48–49.

¹³⁰ Philodemos *De Mus.* 4, col. 128.38 (Delattre, p. 245).

¹³¹ *PHibeh* 13. See Barker 1984 (see above, n. 30), 183–85; M. L. West, “Analecta Musica,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 92 (1992), 16–23. The *harmonikoi* are probably to be equated with “the followers of Damon.” Wallace 1991 (see above, n. 128), 44 and n. 42; Wallace 2004 (see above, n. 128), 256.

¹³² G. Rispoli, “Elementi di fisica e di etica epicurea nella teoria musicale di Filodemo di Gadara,” in Wallace and Maclachlan 1991 (see above, n. 128), 69–103; D. Delattre, “La musique, pour quoi faire? La polémique du Jardin contre le Portique chez Philodème de Gadara,” in Malhomme and Wersinger 2007 (see above, n. 128), 99–117.

¹³³ J. Thorp, “Aristoxenos and the Ethnoethical Modes,” in Wallace and Maclachlan 1991 (see above, n. 128), 54–68.

¹³⁴ Franklin 2005 (see above, n. 26), 28.

¹³⁵ Plato *Laws* 669c.

¹³⁶ Plutarch *Quaest. Conv.* 645e. Psellos (*De Trag.* 5 Browning) says that no one used “color” in

tragedy before the time of Euripides. Franklin 2005 (see above, n. 26), 28 speculates that Euripides and Agathon actually used a chromaticized enharmonic.

¹³⁷ Philodemos *De Mus.* 4, col. 128, 31–42 (Delattre, p. 245); cf. col. 43 (Delattre, pp. 69–70).

¹³⁸ *TrGF* 39, T 11, 12.

¹³⁹ Aristophanes *PCG* 178 where several sources specify Agathon’s pipe music as the object of criticism, while others abbreviate to Agathon himself. Note that Aristides Quintilianus (*De Mus.* 2.18) would later maintain that all pipe music partakes of a feminine nature “even when played with much knowledge and self-control.” On Aristophanes’ Agathon and the so-called “Anakreontic” vases, see D. Yatromanolakis, *Sappho in the Making: The Early Reception*, Cambridge, MA 2007, 110–40.

¹⁴⁰ Aristophanes *Nu.* 648–51 also makes comic use of Damonian theory: Wallace 1991 (see above, n. 128), 46.

fies the seven-stringed lyre and *kithara* as “male” and the polychord *kithara* and Phrygian pipes as “female.”¹⁴¹

Greek versus barbarian

The names of the musical modes are ethnic. These ethnic labels implied ethical values and ethical values in turn attracted gendered expression. The modes with Greek names (Dorian, Aeolian, Ionian) were, in general, more manly. Those with Eastern names (Lydian, Phrygian) were effeminate. But a rigorous ethical posturing might cast doubt on modes named after the more Asiatic Greek races. Plato declared the Dorian mode “the only true Greek mode,” an expression of manliness, nobility, and self-control; the Mixolydian, Tense Lydian, and Ionian were, by contrast, effeminate, vulgar, and self-indulgent—“useless even to respectable women, let alone men.”¹⁴² For Aristotle this was not schematic enough. He protested that Plato was willing to allow the Phrygian mode into his republic although “among modes the Phrygian has the same effect as the pipe among instruments: both are orgiastic and emotional,” in explicit contrast, of course, to the Dorian, which is “most steadfast and has an especially manly spirit.”¹⁴³

Critics eventually forced a stark opposition between the Dorian and Phrygian modes. The two ethnic labels, placed in opposition, had, through the Trojan and Persian wars, enough mythical and historical resonance to give critics a convincing symbolic template for shaping broad ethical distinctions between New Music and “tradition.” Plato was not too subtle to accept the division between Greek and Asiatic modes, or to reduce the only “really Greek” mode to the Dorian, but he knew too much about musical practice to allow the Phrygian to stand as the Asiatic mode *par excellence*.¹⁴⁴ But earlier

critics had already laid the foundation for the final reduction of musical modes to this overarching opposition, and it was, in any case, well-prepared by the dithyrambic poets themselves: Melanippides’ contest between Apollo on the lyre and the Phrygian Marsyas on pipes; Pratinas’ opposition of New Music to “Dorian dance-song;” and Telestes’ praise of the “Phrygian,” who (somewhat confusingly) “first composed the Lydian song as a rival to the Dorian Muse.”¹⁴⁵ A reductive binarism in the theory of modes was in any case commonplace by the time of Aristotle, when “some thinkers,” to Aristotle’s evident approval, opposed the Dorian and Phrygian as the only “pure” modes and regarded all others as mere variations on one or the other.¹⁴⁶ The schematism had advanced so far that Aristotle could claim that the dithyramb, like the pipes,¹⁴⁷ was “a Phrygian thing by general consensus.”¹⁴⁸ He cites unnamed experts who illustrate this proposition by asserting that no one could possibly compose a dithyramb in the Dorian mode: of this, says Aristotle, Philoxenos is proof because he attempted to do just this with *Mysians*, “but failed and fell naturally back into the Phrygian mode as that suited to his composition.”¹⁴⁹ Apparently, for Aristotle and his sources, Dorian and Phrygian were so mutually exclusive that to prove the dithyramb un-Dorian was tantamount to proving it very Phrygian. Aristotle’s student Herakleides of Pontos attained the ultimate seamless perfection in his ordering of ethno-ethical oppositions. He assigns pristine virtue to the Dorian, Aeolian, and Ionian modes and claims that the Phrygian and Lydian were brought to Greece by barbarian immigrants: ethically best, of course, was the Dorian, most

others are accurately describing, not actively creating, the character and meaning of the Phrygian mode.

¹⁴⁵ On Melanippides, see above, p. 72. Pratinas *TrGF* 4, fr. 3.17 and above, pp. 73–74; Telestes *PMG* 806.

¹⁴⁶ Aristotle *Pol.* 1290a 19–29.

¹⁴⁷ The sources insist on a Phrygian origin for the pipes: H. Huchzermeyer, *Aulos und Kithara in der griechischen Musik bis zum Ausgang der klassischen Zeit*, Emsdetten 1931, 14, n. 57. Cf. West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 330–31. Athenaios exercises a well-trained scholarly reflex in citing *Iliad* 18.495 to show that “Homer ascribes the pipes to the barbarians” (i.e. “Phrygian” Trojans). The actual origin of the pipes is not all that clear: see West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 81–82. There were competing, but less attractive, traditions that localized the origin of the pipes in Greece: e.g., Troizen (Pausanias 2.31.3) or Thebes (Wilson 1999 [see above, n. 16], 61).

¹⁴⁸ Aristotle *Pol.* 1342b.7. Cf. *Vit. Soph.* 23 (citing Aristoxenos) and Psellos *De Trag.* 5 Browning where Sophokles is said to have used the Phrygian mode in a “more dithyrambic style” (but this treatise is considerably less schematic than Aristotle, since it identifies the Hypophrygian and Hypodorian as most suited to dithyramb, and claims Agathon first introduced them to tragedy; cf. Ps.-Aristotle *Pr.* 922b).

¹⁴⁹ Aristotle *Pol.* 1342b.8–12.

¹⁴¹ Aristides Quintilianus *De Mus.* 2.16.23–40.

¹⁴² Plato *Lach.* 188d (first quotation), 193d, *Rep.* 398d (second quotation), 398e–9c, *Ep.* 7336c. Pindar is said to have called Dorian song “most dignified” (fr. 67 Maehler). Damon, or in some versions Pythagoras, is said to have quelled a riot by ordering music to be played in the Dorian mode (the drunken youths had been excited by listening to music in the Phrygian mode): see A. Pagliara, “Musica e politica nella speculazione platonica: Considerazioni intorno all’*ethos* del modo frigio (*Resp.* III 10, 399a–c),” in Cassio et al. 2000 (see above, n. 37), 193–201. On musical modes and instruments, regional and ethnic identities, and politics of music and gender, see Yatromanolakis 2007 (see above, n. 139), 227–38.

¹⁴³ Aristotle *Pol.* 1342a.32–b.3, 1342b.13.

¹⁴⁴ On the “contradiction” in Plato, see, more recently, A. Gostoli, “L’armonia frigiana nei progetti politico-pedagogici di Platone e Aristotele,” in Gentili and Perusino 1995 (above, n. 27), 133–44, and Pagliara 2000 (see above, n. 142). Scholars tend to assume too readily that Aristotle and

"manly and grandiose, not diffuse or giddy, but somber and severe, not embellished [*poikilon*] and variegated [*polytropon*]"—not, one need hardly say, like the New Music.¹⁵⁰ And yet, the Dorian mode differed from the Phrygian only in that the last note of the scale was higher by a single tone.¹⁵¹

The critics pursued this cultural work with little regard for musical reality. It is, incidentally, not true that dithyrambs were not written in the Dorian mode and also not true that Philoxenos failed in the attempt.¹⁵² Aristoxenos, who was generally more inclined to technical than ideological argument, protested against the critics' claims that it was only late degenerate tragedians who introduced the Asiatic modes, or that the Dorian mode was always controlled, unemotional, and manly. He pointed out, on the one hand, that early tragedy used Mixolydian, Ionian, and Slack Lydian modes, and, on the other, that the Dorian mode was used for maiden choruses, tragic laments, and love songs.¹⁵³ It is not that Aristoxenos rejected the theory of music's ethical effects. In the spirit of Hellenism he shifted the burden from race to class, and from mode to genus. The threat of cultural barbarization was entirely internalized: in his *Sympotic Miscellanies* Aristoxenos' cultivated "few" share happy fantasies of what music was like in the good old days, so very different from the degeneracy of the present, "now that the theaters have been thoroughly barbarized and this People's Music [*πάνδημος μουσική*] has led to massive corruption."¹⁵⁴

Old oligarchs versus new democrats

Plato's political discourse is filled with metaphors from music. We need a close study of his application to democracy of the standard terms used to characterize New Music—like *ποικίλος* and *πολυειδής*.¹⁵⁵ Or should we call it metonymy rather than metaphor, since Plato, like Damon, ascribed to music and dance the primary responsibility for instilling ethical qualities into people and classes?

¹⁵⁰ Herakleides of Pontos fr. 163. Cf. Athenaios 624b.

¹⁵¹ Barker 1984 (see above, n. 30), 165–66.

¹⁵² West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 181, 364–65. A choregic epigram from the early fifth century, before such things were problematized, commemorates a dithyramb accompanied by "pure Dorian pipes" (*Anthologia Graeca* 13.28.7–8).

¹⁵³ Aristoxenos fr. 82 Wehrli. Cf. Psellos *De Trag.* 5 Browning; Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1137a; West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 179; and note 148 above (Sophokles' use of the Phrygian mode).

¹⁵⁴ Aristoxenos fr. 28 da Rios.

¹⁵⁵ E.g., Plato *Rep.* 557b–c. For Plato's use of musical vocabulary in general: Anderson 1994 (see above, n. 17), 142–69; A. G. Wersinger, *Platon et la dysharmonie: Recherches sur la forme musicale*, Paris 2001; P. Murray, "The Muses and their Arts," in Murray and Wilson 2004 (see above, n. 38), 375–78.

In the ninth book of his *Republic*, Plato describes his ideal state as a concord between the three divisions of the citizen body. This depends on the concord between the three parts of the soul in the individual constitution of the members of each class. This in turn depends on training, especially musical education. Here and elsewhere, Plato repeatedly employs musical terms for "harmony" and "disharmony" both in the individual soul and in the hierarchy of the state.¹⁵⁶ The homology between music, the soul, and the state has most to do with the hierarchy of control: the words of the song must rule the music, the logical part of the soul must rule the emotional, and the philosophically educated elite must rule the masses. In each case *logos* or its deputies must keep in check the forces of disorder: the purely aural parts of music, the appetitive part of the soul, and the disorderly masses.¹⁵⁷ It does so by enlisting the aid of the middle term in each of these hierarchies: that part of music, the individual and the state that belongs to the higher emotions and is responsible for action. In this way dance, the part of the soul responsible for valor, and the military classes are all linked by Plato's relentlessly schematic logic. Not all these associations are original with Plato; to some extent he elaborates the equation between musical and political revolution that he ascribes to Damon:

One must beware of changing to a new form of music, since this puts at risk the entire social structure. For the forms of music are never disturbed without unsettling the very constitution of the state. So says Damon and I believe him.¹⁵⁸

Plato makes no secret of his musical tastes. If there is one thing that characterizes them all, it is violent antipathy to every feature of New Musical style. In his ideal state he would ban pipe music;¹⁵⁹ musical innovation;¹⁶⁰ Dionysian

¹⁵⁶ For *συμφωνεῖν* and cognates meaning to be self-consistent: e.g., Plato *Lach.* 188c–d, 193d–e; *Cra.* 433b; *Ep.* 7.322d–e; *Leg.* 689d. For *συμφωνεῖν* and cognates used to refer to the concord of the bodily passions with the reason: e.g., Plato *Rep.* 430e, 591d; *Leg.* 653b; cf. Aristotle *Pol.* 1334b.10. *συμφωνεῖν* used of concord of the state or confederacies: e.g., Plato *Leg.* 691a, 693. *διαφωνεῖν* or *ἀσυμφωνεῖν* and compounds: e.g., Plato *Gorg.* 482b–c, *Leg.* 689a, 691a. *πλημμελία* and its cognates used of social discord and discord within the individual: e.g., Plato *Leg.* 689c, 691a.

¹⁵⁷ Plato *Rep.* 424c–444c, 543a–592b; *Leg.* 669–670a, 689a–e; *Plt.* 291a–b.

¹⁵⁸ Plato *Rep.* 424c.

¹⁵⁹ Plato *Rep.* 399d; cf. *Gorg.* 501e.

¹⁶⁰ Plato *Leg.* 816c.

music and dance;¹⁶¹ music unaccompanied by words;¹⁶² mode and rhythm that do not follow the verbal line;¹⁶³ the use of more than one note per syllable;¹⁶⁴ direct speech or vocal mimesis;¹⁶⁵ modulations in music or violent changes in the motion of dance;¹⁶⁶ or any sort of embellishment (ποικιλία) in melody or rhythm, and particularly polyphony, *polychordia*, *polyharmonia*, polymetry, and “colors.”¹⁶⁷

New Music had become a symbol of all that was ill in democracy. It is easy to see why. In an age where elite wealth and leadership were increasingly under democratic control, the maintenance of class distinction depended increasingly on claims of ethical and cultural superiority. But elite cultural superiority, at least, was openly threatened by the rise of professionalism in many branches of the arts, and especially the music of the theater. By the later fifth century a gentleman's musical accomplishments looked slim beside those of musicians from plebeian backgrounds who acquired both wealth and fame by performing to the assembled *dēmos* in the theater. The elite could only maintain their claim to cultural superiority in this domain by separating “good” from “bad” music, which they did, not only by questioning the musical and ethical values of every innovation but also by demonizing the instrument, the performers, and the audiences of New Music.

For the demonization of the *aulos* I need only refer to the excellent essays by Peter Wilson.¹⁶⁸ The best known myth about the *aulos* told how it was thrown aside as indecorous by the goddess Athena, but taken up, much to her disgruntlement, by the grotesque satyr Marsyas (who would later pay with his skin for his presumption in offering a musical rival to Apollo's lyre). The anecdote is curiously mirrored by a similar refusal by the conspicuously aristocratic Alkibiades, who refused to continue with his pipe lessons as “unbecoming to the appearance and comportment of a gentleman” and “because it took away a man's voice and speech”—“Let the sons of Thebes play the pipes,” he reportedly said, “since they do not know how to converse.”¹⁶⁹ Aristotle evidently felt it necessary to offer

proofs (against the incredulity of his readers) that in the new leisure society after the Persian Wars when gentlemen dabbled in all the arts indiscriminately, “they even introduced pipe playing into the education” of elite citizens.¹⁷⁰ By the late fifth century it is clear that the pipes were not considered a fit instrument for a gentleman or even an Athenian. As Wilson puts it: “the *aulos* was a danger: it threatened self-control; it marred the aesthetics of the body; it introduced the allure of the alien.”¹⁷¹

As for pipers, our ancient sources accuse them of effeminacy, luxuriance, corruption, incontinence, uncontrolled irrational behaviour, and even brain damage from blowing too much.¹⁷² The pipers' vulgarity (*amousia*) became proverbial.¹⁷³ Those who sponged off others were said “to lead the life of a piper.”¹⁷⁴ Professionalism itself was the object of most particular contempt; it was a touchstone of vulgarity to play an instrument “too well,” or for money, or for theater audiences.¹⁷⁵

Ultimately, however, it was the masses themselves who, in the Old Oligarch's words, “destroyed respect for those practicing music.”¹⁷⁶ Plato firmly blamed the “theater mob,” coining the phrase “theatrocracy,” for cultural democracy.¹⁷⁷ Aristotle assigned the degeneration of music to the tastes and needs of the audience of “handworkers.”¹⁷⁸ New Music “played to the gallery”: “Krexos,

¹⁷⁰ Aristotle *Pol.* 1341a.30–36.

¹⁷¹ Wilson 1999 (see above, n. 16), 58.

¹⁷² Phrynichos *Com. PCG* 67; *Ps.-Aristotle Pr.* 956b.11; *Athenaios* 337e–f.

¹⁷³ Loukianos *Astr.* 2.

¹⁷⁴ *Apostolios* 4.33.1.

¹⁷⁵ Pratinas *TrGF* 4, fr. 3 (with Hartung's emendation *thēs*, worker for a daily wage, used of the pipe—*Athenaios* 617b claims that Pratinas composed the piece through indignation at the way “wage-earning” pipers and choreuts invaded the dancing places); Aristotle *Pol.* 1341b 8–18 (cf. 1337b.1–21, 1339b.5–10, and Plato *Leg.* 809e–10a); *Ps.-Aristotle Pr.* 956b; *Ath.* 631f; *Plutarch Per.* 1.4–5; *Suda s.v.* “Arabios angelos”; *Apostolios* 3.71.1. By Diogenes of Babylon's day even a gentleman singing to the accompaniment of strings was considered “ridiculous and professional” (*Philodemos De Mus.* 4, col. 85.32–41, Delattre, pp. 162–63). A. Bélis, “Mauvaise musique, mauvaises mœurs,” in Malhomme and Wersinger 2007 (see above, n. 128), 77–86, explores elite hostility to auletic virtuosity.

¹⁷⁶ Old Oligarch *Ath. Pol.* 13. For the translation, cf. J. Henderson, “The *Dēmos* and Comic Competition,” in J. Winkler et al. (eds.), *Nothing to do with Dionysos?*, Princeton, NJ 1990, 278 and n. 16.

¹⁷⁷ See below, pp. 102–3. Cf. Plato *Gorg.* 501e–2c where pipe music, dithyramb, kitharistic, Kinesias, and tragedy are all specifically condemned for “gratifying the mob” and the Platonic *Minos* 320f where tragedy is described as “most delicious to the *dēmos*.”

¹⁷⁸ Aristotle *Pol.* 1341b.7–18.

¹⁶¹ Plato *Leg.* 815c–d. Note that, nonetheless, some provision is made for Dionysian choruses, but of old men only, to help renew the fire of youth (*Leg.* 665a–6c).

¹⁶² Plato *Leg.* 669d–70a. Cf. *Philodemos De Mus.* 4, col. 51 (Delattre, pp. 83–84).

¹⁶³ Plato *Rep.* 400d, *Leg.* 669e.

¹⁶⁴ Plato *Leg.* 812d.

¹⁶⁵ Plato *Rep.* 392c–96e.

¹⁶⁶ Plato *Leg.* 814e–16c.

¹⁶⁷ Plato *Leg.* 655a, 812d–e, *Rep.* 397c–9e.

¹⁶⁸ Wilson 1999 (see above, n. 16); Wilson 2004 (see above, n. 54).

¹⁶⁹ *Plutarch Alc.* 2.5–6; cf. *Plato Alc.* 1.106e; *Pamphila FHG* 3.521.9.

Timotheos and Philoxenos and the poets of that generation became more vulgar and innovative, pursuing what is now called the 'popular cash-prize' style."¹⁷⁹

The protestations of these touchy aristocrats reflect more on their own ideological makeup than on musical realities. Scholars would do well to be more skeptical of what they say, not only about New Music, but about musical tradition. The elite critics invented a musical past in which all was simplicity and order: the catchwords "simplicity" (*haplotês*) and "good order" (*eutaxia* or *eukosmia*) stand in diametric opposition to New Music's language of plurality, complexity, and change. Traditional music was spare: the critics even invented a new "oligo- compound" to contrast with New Music's "poly- compounds": traditional music's noble *oligochordia* ("few-notedness") was wrecked, they said, by New Music.¹⁸⁰

Few doubted the general scheme of this myth-history: even pipe music "changed from a more simple to a more complex form" (*ἀπ' ἀπλουστέρως εἰς ποικιλωτέραν*); "even the dithyramb was orderly [*tetagenos*]" before Philoxenos, Timotheos, and Telestes.¹⁸¹ The Greater Argument of *Clouds* characterized the music of the previous generation as "orderliness" [*eutaxia*] consisting in the singing of songs and modes handed down by "our fathers," who rewarded with a sound thrashing any attempt at modulation à la Phrynis.¹⁸² In Pherekrates' *Cheiron* the change in Music is pictured as a loss of innocence after a series of violent rapes by Melanippides, Kinesias, Phrynis, and Timotheos.¹⁸³

The words for "order" used by the Greater Argument, *taxis*, *kosmos*, and other forms from the same roots appear with great frequency in discussions of music and its ethical effects from the time of Aristophanes until late antiquity. In music *taxis* is a technical term referring to the tuning of one or more strings.¹⁸⁴ But, from the time of Aristophanes onward it is the word's moral, military, and political connotations that dominate the critical discourse. In these domains the

¹⁷⁹ Ps.-Plutarch 1135c. The word *θεματικόν* here translated as "cash-prize," literally refers to musical and dramatic competitions that offered straight cash prizes rather than crowns. Though "thematic" contests might be disprized as contests for money rather than honor, the difference was more ideological than real, since even winners of crown contests would normally melt down the (gold or silver) crowns to recover their cash value.

¹⁸⁰ Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1135d.5, 1137a.8. Cf. *oligometria* in Eustathios 353.39.

¹⁸¹ Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1141c; Dionysios of Halikarnassos *Comp.* 19.

¹⁸² Aristophanes *Nu.* 963–72.

¹⁸³ Pherekrates *PCG* 155; see Egert Pöhlmann, "Aristophanes and the 'New Music': *Acharnians*, *Knights*, *Clouds*, *Birds*, *Thesmophoriazousai*, *Frogs*," Chapter 2 here.

¹⁸⁴ Ion *PMG* 32; Aristoxenos *Harm.* 53.12–13; Franklin forthcoming (see above, n. 28). Cf. *σύνταγμα* used of a "tuning": Aristotle *Pol.* 1290a.22; *IStrat* 1044.

word normally refers to the subordination of the individual and his emotional impulses to a preordained or ideal "order," for which the archetype was the order of the hoplite battle line. *Eutaxia* and *eukosmia* therefore implied knowing one's place and keeping to it through the proper exercise of self-control and self-denial.

Eutaxia and *eukosmia* were central to the self-conception of ancient elites. By contrast, elites represented the *dêmos* as completely lacking in the qualities evoked by these terms, through deficiency of both nature and education. The Old Oligarch chooses "wickedness," "lack of education," and "lack of order" (*ataxia*) as the qualities that most succinctly characterize the Athenian *dêmos*.¹⁸⁵ "Lack of order" is also characteristic of the depraved and the young.¹⁸⁶ Plato especially regarded dance and song as the primary vehicles for teaching the young "good order."¹⁸⁷ His musical reforms were expressly designed to put *taxis* back into music.¹⁸⁸ *Taxis* was deemed crucial to hoplite warfare, indeed its necessary condition,¹⁸⁹ and so an elaborate analogy was developed between choral formation and hoplite formation, freely trading vocabulary and tactics from one sphere to another.¹⁸⁹

"Order" was the outward, public manifestation of self-discipline (*sophrosynê*), which is the aristocratic virtue *par excellence*—the word *sophrosynê* is used

¹⁸⁵ Plato *Leg.* 664c–5a, 840e, 897d.

¹⁸⁶ See, especially, Plato *Rep.* 401e–3a, 413e, 425a, *Leg.* 659d–60a, 664e–5a. Cf. "Cheiron" *ap.* Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1146b. At some point grammarians adopted the belief that in Dorian lands schools were called "dancing places" (*choros*) and schoolmasters "dance-masters" (*chorêgoi*): see Pollux 9.41. The ideas possibly go back to Damon or the *harmonikoi* (see the language of Athenaios 628d, who may still be citing "the students of Damon").

¹⁸⁷ See, especially, Plato *Leg.* 802c.

¹⁸⁸ Xenophon *Mem.* 3.1.7; Aristotle *Pol.* 1297b.18–22.

¹⁸⁹ See J. Winkler, "The Ephebe's Song: *Tragoidia* and *Polis*," in Winkler et al. 1990 (see above, n. 176), 50–53; F. D'Alfonso, *Stesicoro e la performance*, Rome 1994, 27. The degree to which *taxis* was necessary to naval warfare was hotly contested. Xenophon (*Mem.* 3.5.6), who was a military man, recognized the importance of *taxis* in naval maneuvers and describes sailors as attentively waiting for commands "like choreuts," but elite voices from the last quarter of the fifth century onward regularly characterize the navy, the military arm of the lower classes, as an undisciplined mob: see Thucydides 8.72.2, 48.3, 86.5; Euripides *Hek.* 607 (Hekabe speaks), *Tr.* 686–93 (Hekabe again); Plato *Leg.* 706c–7b; Aristotle *Pol.* 1291b.20–4, 1304a.22, 1327b.7–8; B. Strauss, "The Athenian Trireme, School of Democracy," in J. Ober and C. Hedrick (eds.), *Dēmokratia*, Princeton, NJ 1996, especially pp. 316–17. Note that Aristophanes' "Aischylos" specifically blames Euripides for the indiscipline of contemporary sailors (*Ra.* 1069–73; cf. E. Csapo, "Kallippides on the Floor-Sweepings: The Limits of Realism in Classical Acting and Performance Styles," in P. Easterling and E. Hall [eds.], *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, Cambridge 2002, 132). J. Rancière, *On the Shores of Politics*, London 1995, 1, is of the opinion that "the whole political project of Platonism can be conceived as an anti-maritime polemic." On naval music, cf. Power 2007 (see above, n. 46), 185.

tout court to denote oligarchy—and little wonder, since no repressive social hierarchy could survive without it: *sophrosynê* meant knowing your place and acting accordingly.¹⁹⁰ *Sophrosynê* also distinguished men from women and Greeks from barbarians. The lack of this quality among the democratic plebs made them dangerous even to themselves, morally obliging their betters to impose discipline for everyone's good. And just as discipline meant submission to the laws of tradition, music too had its *nomoi* (both “laws” and “traditional melodic patterns,” namely “nomes”).¹⁹¹ The critics claimed that the same word meant both “nome” and “law”: either because the first laws were sung for mnemonic reasons (allegedly still a practice in Crete); or because the melodic patterns were protected by law against innovation; or because traditional nomes helped establish the rule of law.¹⁹² The pun, if not the theoretical baggage, has been traced as far back as Aischylos; it is a little more surprising to find it in the Phrygian eunuch's song in *Orestes*, and the reference to *eunomia* that ends Timotheos' *Persai*—signs that Euripides and Timotheos, in these flagship New Musical performances, were willing to contest, if not to mock, the historical and ethical claims of their critics.¹⁹³

These explanations of the homonymy of “law” and “nome” were only part of an elaborate musical prehistory that placed the nome at the very heart of a socially and ethically perfect music that New Music obliterated.¹⁹⁴ Plato's *Laws* describes how the New Music's transformation of the nome was a transgres-

¹⁹⁰ H. North, *Sophrosynê: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature*, Ithaca, NY 1966, 44, 102, 111–12. Plato's timarchic man prides himself on being “exceedingly obedient to his commanders, but eager to command” (*Rep.* 549a). For the link between *eutaxia*, *eukosmia* and *sophrosynê*, see, especially, Thukydides 1.84.3, Xenophon *Mem.* 3.5.21, Aischines 1.22. At Plato *Prt.* 326a it is the function of the music teacher to teach *sophrosynê*. Cf. Aristophanes *Nu.* 962–64.

¹⁹¹ West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 215–17; Anderson 1994 (see above, n. 17), 119.

¹⁹² Ps.-Aristotle *Pr.* 19.28; Aelian *Var. Hist.* 2.39; Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1133c, 1146b; Plato *Rep.* 424d, *Leg.* 700b, 799e; Philodemos *De Mus.* 18.31.5, 85.49–86.19 Kemke; Plutarch *Lyk.* 4.21; Suda s.v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν; *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. νόμος.

¹⁹³ For Aischylos, see Fleming 1977 (see above, n. 79); Euripides *Or.* 1426, 1430 (cf. G. Comotti, “La musica nella tragedia greca,” in L. de Finis [ed.], *Scena e spettacolo nell'antichità*, Florence 1989, 57–58). On the pun in Timotheos *PMG* 791.240, see discussions by Bassett 1931 (see above, n. 49), D. Korzeniewski, “Die Binnenresponson in den Persern des Timotheus,” *Philologus* 118 (1974), 22–39, T. Janssen, *Timotheus: Persae*, Amsterdam 1989, 20, 148 (against any political connotation), and Wilson 2004 (see above, n. 54), 306. Purely innocent punning on *nomos* at Athenaios 352b and Euboulos *PCG* 106.3 (though in a dithyrambizing context: see Nesselrath 1990 [above, n. 100], 264).

¹⁹⁴ For this purpose, nome was even placed in opposition, it seems, to dithyramb. We have a very garbled echo preserved in Proklos *ap. Photios Bibl.* 5.320a–b, 161, 12–30 Henry. Cf. Ieranò 1997 (see above, n. 11), 155–59.

sion against natural law as embodied both in traditional music and in traditional society.¹⁹⁵ Earlier Athenians had been “willing slaves to the *nomoi*” at a time when Athens had a moderate constitution and when the genres and forms of music were fixed and nontransferable.¹⁹⁶ Audiences had once been governed by internal as well as external discipline: in the old days “the majority of the citizens wished to be governed in an orderly fashion.”¹⁹⁷ But then, buoyed by success in the Persian Wars, Athens “pushed the majority toward every form of liberty.”¹⁹⁸ Traditional music and dance changed because of a search for new and “disorderly” pleasures.¹⁹⁹ The poets themselves were “the originators of this musical lawlessness,” because they were “excessively given to the pursuit of pleasure.”²⁰⁰ The poets mixed genres, imitated one instrument with another, and mixed everything together. They claimed that music had no standard of correctness beyond the listener's pleasure. As a result, the plebs in the theaters turned from a silent congregation into a shouting mob as if they knew what was *kalon* (“good,” “noble,” “right”). “Instead of an aristocracy, a corrupt teatrocracy came into existence.”²⁰¹ And from this, thinking they knew something, the plebs became fearless and audacious and ceased to be governed by their betters. Musical self-indulgence was thus not only endemic to democracy, it actually created democracy: teatrocracy and democracy are necessarily linked, the former is but the cultural side of the latter, and the latter nothing but the political face of the indiscipline that arises when the masses (the analogue of the appetitive portion of the soul)²⁰² are permitted to run amuck.

Democratic culture was responsible for the degeneration of music everywhere in Greece except in Sparta and Crete.²⁰³ Nostalgic and embittered elites throughout Greece, encouraged doubtless by Sparta's extreme cultural conservatism, its rigidly hierarchic social and political structure, and its support for oligarchy abroad, singled Sparta out to serve as an antidemocratic utopia and a remnant of bygone order and simplicity in politics, ethics, and music—indeed the paradigmatic proof that good politics, good ethics, and good music were

¹⁹⁵ Plato *Leg.* 700a–1d; cf. Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1132e.

¹⁹⁶ Plato *Leg.* 698b.

¹⁹⁷ Plato *Leg.* 700d.

¹⁹⁸ Plato *Leg.* 699e.

¹⁹⁹ Plato *Leg.* 657b.

²⁰⁰ Plato *Leg.* 700d.

²⁰¹ Plato *Leg.* 701a.

²⁰² Plato *Rep.* 559d–63e; *Leg.* 689b. See, further, my sections 4–5.

²⁰³ Plato *Leg.* 657b, 660b. The Spartan constitution was thought to be very closely modeled on the Cretan: Aristotle *Pol.* 1271b.22.

mutually implicative.²⁰⁴ Political order and moral discipline presupposed an orderly and disciplined music: for the ancient critics "the very constitution of society, as visualized in the traditions of ... Sparta, is choral performance."²⁰⁵

There may well be a core of abused historical truth underlying these idealizations of Sparta and Crete, but it is much easier to spot the abuse than the truths. Relatively few outsiders had direct contact with these remote and closed societies and little of the real knowledge that would have been needed to constrain the creative fantasy of elite ideologues. The latter were canny enough to enhance the credibility of their theories by narrowing their focus on the one form of Spartan music that *was* widely known, because it was the one form of music that Sparta exported: ancient discussions of Spartan music deal exhaustively with its military music and little else.²⁰⁶ Some claimed that Lykourgos permitted music no function except military; others believed that Sparta and Crete conscripted dancers as they conscripted soldiers, or that they disciplined choreuts like soldiers, penalizing deserters from the choral ranks with the death penalty as if they had deserted from battle.²⁰⁷ All Sparta's and Crete's putative military and political orderliness (*eunomia*) were thanks to mulish adherence to their still more putative musical traditions.²⁰⁸

The critics enshrined the marching song, or *embatêrion*, as the archetype of all Spartan music.²⁰⁹ It offered a brilliant antithesis to New Music and all that it symbolized. The marching song, which might, it seems, be called a *nomos*,²¹⁰ stood for old-fashioned simplicity and good order, precisely because Spartans

²⁰⁴ Athenaios 628b, 632f–33a.

²⁰⁵ G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, Baltimore, MD 1990, 367.

²⁰⁶ A. Gostoli, "Terpandro e la funzione etico-politica della musica nella cultura spartana del VII sec. a.C.," in B. Gentili and R. Pretagostini (eds.), *La musica in Grecia*, Rome 1988, 321.

²⁰⁷ Plutarch *Inst. Lac.* 238b; Libanios 64.17.

²⁰⁸ Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1146b–c; Philodemos *De Mus.* 4, col. 32 (Delattre, pp. 46–48); Libanios 64.17.

²⁰⁹ Gostoli 1988 (see above, n. 206), 231, with references; cf. West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 34. The "ancient Cretans" are said to have preserved the same custom, and Polybios ascribes the high reputation for virtue of the Arcadians in his own day in part to the continued custom "nobly conceived by their ancestors" of "practicing *embatêria* to pipe music" (4.20.1–6, 21.12). Athenian hoplites probably did not march to the pipes, but the evidence precludes certainty: Wilson 1999 (see above, n. 16), 81, n. 88.

²¹⁰ Thoukydides 5.69. See A. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. 4, Oxford 1970, 118, who take "nomos" to refer to custom/law. Gostoli 1988 (see above, n. 206), 235–36, n. 12, and the scholiast take it in the musical sense. Both meanings produced somewhat strained Greek, but perhaps Thoukydides is straining to allow both meanings. Cf. the *nomos polemikos* mentioned by Philodemos (*De Mus.* 4, col. 39, Delattre, p. 63).

knew, as the Athenian *dêmos* did not, how to keep their place and receive direction from their betters. Discipline, in its rawest and most coercive military form, was presented as the original and highest function of music and choral dance.²¹¹ Here all motion, music, and words were ideally yoked to the single purpose of instilling a manly resolve, setting a steady and controlled pace, and maintaining the order of the hoplite line.²¹² For this reason some supposed that pristine music concentrated on rhythm, as opposed to "modern" music's concentration on melody.²¹³ Rhythm could make music "rough and stimulating" (τραχὺ καὶ κινητικόν), while melody was "soft and pacifying" (μαλακὸν ... καὶ ἡρεμαῖον).²¹⁴ Aristides Quintilianus reports that "some of the ancients called rhythm male, and melody female."²¹⁵

Many myths were created to reinforce this image of Sparta as a paragon of musical discipline. Certainly, the subordination of music to military ritual allowed little room for innovation. Plutarch even claims that Spartan law proscribed innovation in music or dance.²¹⁶ By contrast, Timotheos' songs were

²¹¹ Cf. Chamaileon *ap.* Athenaios 628e "for the style of dancing used in choruses was elegant and stately and just like an imitation of the movements of men in arms"; 628f "dancing was almost like a military exercise." Cf. Phillis *ap.* Athenaios 21f–22a.

²¹² Plutarch *Lyk.* 21.1; Gostoli 1988 (see above, n. 206), 232.

²¹³ Aristoxenos in Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1138b–c.

²¹⁴ Ps.-Aristotle *Pr.* 19.49, 922b.30–32. This level of schematization risked tying the theoreticians up in serious contradictions, as can be seen from their counterfactual claim that when the pipes and lyres are played together, it is the pipes' lower tones that establish the melody and lyres' higher ones that establish the rhythm. The belief seems inexplicable except on the ideological assumption that pipe music must belong to the side of the soft, and the lyre, associated with "noble" music, belongs on the side of the "rough and stimulating." See the discussion in Barker 1995 (see above, n. 27), 56.

²¹⁵ Aristides Quintilianus *De Mus.* 1.19.

²¹⁶ Plutarch *Inst. Lac.* 238c. Cf. Athenaios 633b, Philodemos *De Mus.* 4, col. 31 Delattre. The myth of the Spartan law seems to presuppose Damon's insistence on the dependence of political on musical stability. At a guess, the claim that musical tradition was safeguarded by the Spartan constitution originates with Plato's uncle, the arch-conservative, oligarchic, and Laconizing Kritias. The guess is based not only on the idealization of Sparta, but on the close link between Damon and Plato's family, the shadowy presence of Egypt in the background as the ultimate model for Sparta's musical conservatism, and the fact that Kritias wrote a *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* in verse as well as in prose in which Sparta contrasts favorably with Athens in matters of culture as well as law and government. In one fragment of this work praise for Spartan moderation in drinking is sharply contrasted with criticism of the debilitating effects of unrestrained drinking at Athenian symposia (Kritias 88, B 6 Diels-Kranz). The moral contrast probably also extended to musical practice (cf. B 1). *Laws* (656d–e, 799a–b) presents Egypt as a society, based on immutable god-given laws of art and music, very much "in tune" with the Egypt of *Timaios* as presented by Kritias, who claimed to have learned it from his grandfather Kritias, who learned it from Solon, who visited

characterized by “innovation,” Timotheos’ and Philoxenos’ by “the greatest possible innovation,” and Timotheos, Philoxenos, and Krexos were themselves characterized as “very vulgar and innovative.”²¹⁷ The mysterious “Spartan Decree” against Timotheos testifies to Sparta’s later connivance in this reputation for musical conservatism.²¹⁸ The description of how Timotheos “dishonored the ancient Muse” and “polluted the hearing of youth” makes liberal use of the language of classical criticism with complaints about the *polyphōnia* and *polychordia*; his use of “ignoble and intricate” instead of “simple and orderly” music; his “colors,” modulations and avoidance of the enharmonic genus and strophic responsion. Nothing offered so fine a contrast to Spartan simplicity as the notoriously intricate works of Timotheos.²¹⁹

Ideology transferred all the virtues of Spartan discipline to the Dorian mode. As early as Pratinas (probably a later fifth-century lyric poet) the Doric mode in general is characterized as “tense” (σύντονος) in opposition to the Ionian mode which is characterized as “slack” (ἀνειμένος).²²⁰ The words refer in the first instance to the tautness or looseness of a string on the lyre, but transferred to moral or military contexts they came to connote the strictness or laxness of discipline.²²¹ When Aristotle compares two binarist tendencies, on

Egypt. Kritias may also be the source of Herodotos’ claim that “the Lacedaemonians are like the Egyptians” in only permitting pipers who inherit their craft from their ancestors (5.60). On Kritias’ active intervention in musicological debates in the late fifth century, see P. Wilson, “The Sound of Cultural Conflict: Kritias and the Culture of *Mousike* in Athens,” in L. Kurke and C. Dougherty (eds.), *The Cultures within Greek Culture*, Cambridge 2003, 181–206.

²¹⁷ “Spartan Decree” *ap.* Boethius *De Inst. Mus.* 1.1 (best text by B. M. Palumbo Stracca, “Il decreto degli Spartani contro Timotea [Boeth. *De inst. mus.* I 1],” in A. C. Cassio [ed.], *KATA ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΝ: Atti del III Colloquio Internazionale di Dialettologia Greca, Napoli-Fiaiano d’Ischia, 25-28 settembre 1996*. *AION [filol.]* 19, Naples 1999, 141); also L. Prauscello, “Wandering Poetry, ‘Travelling’ Music: Timotheus’ Muse and Some Case Studies of Shifting Cultural Identities,” in R. Hunter and I. C. Rutherford (eds.), *Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture: Travel, Locality and Panhellenism*, Cambridge 2009, 168–94; Aristoxenos fr. 26 da Rios; Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1135c.

²¹⁸ The decree belongs to the second century AD. It is fully contextualized by Prauscello 2009 (see above, n. 217). For Spartan involvement in the myth of Spartan music, cf. Athenaios 628b; Pausanias 3.12.10 (with Csapo and Wilson 2009 [see above, n. 3], 280).

²¹⁹ Aristoxenos fr. 26 da Rios.

²²⁰ PMG 712. Herakleides interpreted σύντονος as referring to the Dorian mode. Page deletes the reference to the Ionian mode (ἰωνί) in the text preserved by Athenaios (cf. Pratinas *TrGF* 4, fr. 5), partly no doubt because of its ascription to the early fifth-century Pratinas, who is early for adverbs of this sort. If it is a gloss, it is certainly on the right lines. For the general interpretation, cf. Anderson 1994 (see above, n. 17), 88–93.

²²¹ “Dissolution” most commonly in the form of the participle ἀνειμένος: see, e.g., Thukydides 1.6.3, 5.9.6; Plato *Rep.* 410e, 412a, 549d.7, 573a; Aristotle *Pol.* 1270b.32, 1290a.28; Theophrastos *CP* 5.4.4, 5.7.1. In the form of the finite verb, ἀνίμω, see, e.g., Thukydides 4.22.1 (relaxing one’s

the one hand to classify all political constitutions as varieties of “oligarchy” or “democracy,” on the other to view all musical modes as variations on the Dorian and the Phrygian, his only slightly less reductive trinary solution involves a comparison of oligarchic constitutions to the “tenser and more masterful modes” (συντονωτέρας καὶ δεσποτικωτέρας), namely the Doric “varieties,” and a comparison of all the democratic constitutions to the “slacker and softer” varieties (τὰς δ’ ἀνειμένας καὶ μαλακάς), namely the Phrygian.²²² To make a constitution συντονωτέραν meant to key it up from democracy toward oligarchy.²²³ To gauge the trajectory of these mad fantasies, it is helpful, once again, to keep in mind that a lyre player could change from the Phrygian to the Dorian mode by tightening his top string by a single note.



Figure 2: Paestan red-figure bell-krater, Asteas, ca. 350 BC.

Conservatives fantasized about stretching New Musicians on the rack of penal and military discipline. Later historians claimed that Spartan ephors cut the excess strings of the kitharas of Timotheos and Phrynis.²²⁴ A bell-krater by Asteas (fig. 2) preserves a scene from Eupolis’ *Demoi*, in which a reluctant Phrynis, still holding his lyre, is being dragged off by the old-fashioned Athenian

guard); Xenophon *Cyr.* 7.5.70 (neglecting military exercise); Euripides *Or.* 941 (laws becoming impotent). In the form of the noun, ἀνεσις, see, e.g., Athenaios 633c (contrasted with *sophrosynē*, both musically and ethically). For σύντονος, see, e.g., Plato *Rep.* 619b. For τείνω and compounds used of discipline, see, e.g., Plato *Rep.* 410d, 412a.

²²² Aristotle *Pol.* 1290a.

²²³ Aristotle *Pol.* 1304a.21.

²²⁴ Csapo and Wilson 2009 (see above, n. 3), 284–86.

general "Pyronides" (possibly a nickname for the historical Myronides) in an apparent *apagôgê* (a legal procedure by which ordinary citizens could haul a malefactor before a magistrate).²²⁵ Plato yearns for the "disciplining rod" that once checked the "museless shouts" of the theater audience.²²⁶ But when the dream of disciplining the mob seemed hopeless, the critic turned his lust for law and order inward on his students and on himself. Aristoxenos, alienated by the "effeminized music" of the mob and the theater, encouraged his students to pursue the traditional "manly" forms, and he himself, "indifferent to the contempt of the *dêmos* and the mob, preferred Art to popularity, since it was not possible to obey the laws of Art and also sing what pleases the many."²²⁷ But, unlike Plato, Aristoxenos did not find discipline and manhood in the "simple and noble" diatonic genus but in the enharmonic, a genus (represented as being) of such complexity that it could only be mastered with hard work and perseverance, while the other genera apparently served as a default style for the lazy and self-indulgent.²²⁸ So much moral training was required that Aristoxenos feels it necessary to warn that sudden exposure to the enharmonic genus could cause the unmanly and dissolute to vomit bile.²²⁹ Not surprisingly, Aristoxenos found the enharmonic genus ideally suited to the Dorian mode, while the diatonic was ideally suited to the Phrygian.²³⁰

4. God's music, or the metaphysics of the "Old" Music

"Nothing," says Plato, "is more dangerous than change of any sort...whether change of seasons, winds, or the disposition of the *psychê*;" but the changes

²²⁵ Paestan red-figure bell-krater by Asteas, ca. 350 BC, Salerno, Museo Provinciale Pc 1812, PhV2 58. For its place in Eupolis' comedy, see, most recently, I. C. Storey, *Eupolis: Poet of Old Comedy*, Oxford 2003, 169–70; Telò 2007 (see above, n. 34), 28–36; Csapo 2010 (see above, n. 13), 61–63. Telò makes the important observation that Phrynus must be among the dead brought back to Athens from the Underworld in the play. I am, however, disinclined to his conclusion that the vase shows a forcible abduction to the upper world. A literal *apagôgê* for punishment before a magistrate for musical offenses by (the perhaps, on acquaintance, disillusioned) Pyronides better suits the disciplinary fantasies of anti-New Musical discourse.

²²⁶ Plato *Leg.* 700c.

²²⁷ Aristoxenos fr. 29 da Rios. Cf. Krexos, Timotheos and Philoxenos pursuing the "φιλόανθρωπον and mercenary style" in preference to the noble simplicity of ancient music (Ps.-Plutarch *De Mus.* 1135d). The word φιλόανθρωπον implies "publikumswirksam" (L. Richter, "Der Stilwandel in der griechischen Musik zur Zeit der Poliskrise," in E. Welskopf [ed.], *Hellenische Poleis* III, Berlin 1974, 1456).

²²⁸ Aristoxenos frs. 29, 102 da Rios.

²²⁹ Aristoxenos fr. 100 da Rios.

²³⁰ Aristoxenos fr. 103 da Rios.

affecting the *psychê*, particularly the *psychê* of a nation, are far the worst, because "every soul dreads and fears to change in any way the established laws with which one has been brought up and which, by the grace of the gods, have remained unchanged for so very long a time that no one remembers or has even heard of a time when they were different."²³¹

Music is the leitmotif in the discourse about change. The critics never reserved such irony nor afforded such significance to any word in the New Musician's vocabulary as the technical term for "modulation," *metabolê*, which happily for them, also meant "change."²³² The pursuit of changelessness drove conservative ideologues ever deeper into the fantasy worlds of myth and metaphysics as the real world of the contemporary *polis* grew increasingly voluble. If the complex New Music of the theaters symbolized democracy and all its ills, the simple Old Music of traditional cult came to symbolize its antidote.

Long before Plato and Damon there was a tradition that systematically linked the tuning of the lyre, the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the health of the human soul. John Franklin has recently redrawn our attention to how deeply these homologies were rooted in ancient Near Eastern and Greek religion and science.²³³ In ancient Greece the connection between music, cosmology, and psychology found its fullest articulation in Pythagorean thought.²³⁴ From the Pythagoreans the theory of a musical concord between the cosmos and the human soul spread to mystery cult and to Plato, and through them became broadly diffuse in popular thought, philosophy and music theory.²³⁵ For the sociology of music, the main effect of the doctrine of cosmic harmony was to give

²³¹ *Leg.* 797d–98b.

²³² Koller 1954 (see above, n. 4), 183–85, 229–30, n. 109; A. D'Angour, "The Sound of *Mousikê*: Reflections on Aural Change in Ancient Greece," in R. Osborne (ed.), *Debating the Athenian Cultural Revolution: Art, Literature, Philosophy, and Politics, 430–380 BC*, Cambridge 2007, 297, n. 29.

²³³ J. C. Franklin, "The Wisdom of the Lyre: Soundings in Ancient Greece, Cyprus and the Near East," in E. Hickmann et al. (eds.), *Musikarchäologie im Kontext*, Rahden 2006, 379–97; J. C. Franklin, "Lyre Gods of the Bronze Age Musical Koine," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 6.2 (2006), 39–70.

²³⁴ Koller 1954 (see above, n. 4), 178–79; W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, Cambridge, MA 1972, 350–68; L. Richter, "Struktur und Rezeption antiker Planetenskalen," *Die Musikforschung* 52 (1999), 289–306; Hagel 2005 (see above, n. 26); Franklin in Hickmann et al. 2006 (see above, n. 233), 380; Franklin 2006 (see above, n. 233), 53–57.

²³⁵ Mystery cult: M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems*, Oxford 1983, 29–33; A. Hardie, "Muses and Mysteries," in Murray and Wilson 2004 (see above, n. 38), 26–29; E. Csapo, "Star Choruses: Eleusis, Orphism, and New Musical Imagery and Dance," in Revermann and Wilson (see above, n. 6). For Plato, see below.

music, Old Music, the divine sanction required to secure it as a foundation for ethical and political science.

The fullest expression of the importance of music to metaphysics and ethics is to be found in Plato's late dialogues. Here the universe is portrayed as a layered hierarchy of changelessness. Absolute or near absolute changelessness characterizes everything up top: gods are "to the utmost degree perpetually unchanging and unaltered";²³⁶ "to the most divine of all entities alone belong immobility, immutability, and self-identity";²³⁷ even truth and reality are "by nature eternally changeless."²³⁸ Change, by contrast, increases as one descends. It is the fate of all that partakes of a bodily nature. Even the heavenly bodies are subject to change. But within the material universe there is, of course, distinction.

It is motion that causes change and Plato discerns several different kinds of motions graded according to the change each generates and according to the degree each partakes of reason.²³⁹ At the top end of the corporeal hierarchy are the motions of heavenly bodies: they are minimal, confined "as much as possible to a locomotion that is single and in the same place and of the same kind."²⁴⁰ Far below them and subject to more complex (and less rationally governed) motions are earthly beings. Humanity and human affairs are subject to constant flux.²⁴¹ But even human activities can be ranked by the degree to which they participate in reason.²⁴² The hierarchy of being thus descends from a realm of incorporeal mind and reason, where all is simplicity, changelessness, and order, to the realm of the corporeal drives, characterized by multiple impulses, constant motion, and disorder: for the corporeal element "partook of great disorder [*ataxia*] even before entering the world order."²⁴³ The trick, then, for both individuals and entire polities, is to reduce the changefulness of self and society, by reducing the extent, number, and complexity of the motions responsible for change. In order to do this, the gods gave humanity music. Music is mankind's principle link to stability, permanence, and order. The right kind of music, at least, could bring the human soul in tune with the divine symphony.²⁴⁴

²³⁶ Plato *Rep.* 381c.9–10.

²³⁷ Plato *Pol.* 269d.

²³⁸ Plato *Phlb.* 58a.

²³⁹ Plato *Leg.* 897d–8b, cf. *Tim.* 34a–b and 90c–d.

²⁴⁰ Plato *Pol.* 269d–e; *Leg.* 894c; *Epinom.* 982a–3c.

²⁴¹ Plato *Pol.* 294a–b.

²⁴² Plato *Leg.* 904c.

²⁴³ Plato *Pol.* 273b.6–7.

²⁴⁴ Aristotle basically agrees with Plato's general hierarchy of the cosmos based on movement, identifying happiness as that attained by the most perfect being without any activity, with

Plato's *Timaios* explains the essentially musical beginnings and ends of divine and human life. Attunement (*harmonia*) is the very essence of the soul. The proportions that correspond to the intervals of an octave were converted by the Creator God into the substance from which all souls are formed. Out of this soul-substance the Creator formed the other gods who are the stars and planets. Being less perfect than the Creator they are not entirely changeless, but they are nearly perfect because their motion is simple and regular. Their daily and annual movements through the sky are the simplest and most noble form of change and imitate the motions of the material portions of soul-substance. The movement of the heavenly bodies thus provide a visual analogue of the harmony that is soul-substance.²⁴⁵

Less perfectly created soul-substance was used to create humans. But their bodies were cruder, with more complex motions (six in all: up and down, forward and backward, left and right). Because of cruder workmanship and all the jolts and jostling caused by complex movement, the soul, like a stringed instrument, is regularly stretched and twisted. Motion puts the soul out of joint, and causes it to lose its original attunement to divine proportion. All human souls go bad this way, but, naturally, some get a lot worse than others (so bad in fact that they can be reborn in the form of women or lower animals!). But god provided two safeguards against universal degeneration. He gave men eyes so that they could contemplate the harmony of the heavenly bodies: "God invented and gave us the gift of sight so that we might benefit from contemplation of the revolutions of intelligence in heaven, and so that, by understanding the movements within ourselves, which, though disturbed, are akin to them which are unperturbed, and by studying and partaking of the natural precision of their calculations, we might adjust our own wandering movements by imitating the completely unerring movements of the god."²⁴⁶ God also gave men hearing so that they could hear harmonies and rhythms and thereby recalibrate the harmony and rhythm of the soul's proportions and movements.²⁴⁷ Finally, to facilitate the deployment of these gifts, the Muses gave men dance and music for no other purpose than to permit them to imitate the god-given harmonies and rhythms that they saw and

happiness and perfection both decreasing as activity increases until one reaches the condition of humanity (*De Caelo* 292a19–b25). But humans, unlike beasts or plants, at least can attain happiness through activity. Happiness is harder to attain with complex movements than with simple and few (*De Caelo* 292a28–31).

²⁴⁵ Cf. Plato *Phdr.* 259d, *Rep.* 521–534e.

²⁴⁶ Plato *Tim.* 47b6–c4.

²⁴⁷ Plato *Tim.* 47c4–d2.

heard, because imitation of the original movements of the world-soul through the practice of music and dance was the easiest way to restore proper movement to the human soul.²⁴⁸ The best souls are thus, like lyres, precisely attuned to the “noble and simple” diatonic genus, for this is the genus of Plato’s cosmic scale, as Stefan Hagel demonstrates.²⁴⁹ Music and dance are thus the greatest gifts of the gods, bringing us goodness, happiness, and health. The main problem for ethics and indeed politics is that not all music was content to imitate the simple and restrained movements established by the Creator and handed down by tradition. By linking his distaste for contemporary music with Pythagorean cosmogony Plato gave his musical dislikes an absolute ethical, metaphysical, and theological foundation. Music was the common man’s last link to the divine order but the New Music and the democratic culture that enabled it, through receptiveness to innovation and change, had severed that link.

5. *The people’s sophrosynê, or the ethics of the “Old” Music*

Among Plato’s many contradictions the revolutionary zeal with which he promoted “changelessness” must count as the oddest. He made changelessness the essential characteristic of god and the world-soul. Music in turn was changelessness’ physical expression. But music’s theological and metaphysical importance was, as we saw, already fixed in Plato’s cultural inheritance and it served Plato mainly as a foundation for his ethical and political thought. Plato’s most original contribution to musical theory was not the discovery of “God’s music” but the exposure of the Devil’s.

The characteristics shared by God, nature, and traditional music are precisely those of the good man and the good polity: above all, changelessness, simplicity, and homogeneity. But even here Plato draws on a fund of traditional elite values that made a virtue of invariability. Accolades to invariability begin at the time of democracy’s first glimmer and (we will see) are frequently given an antidemocratic form of expression. A basic hostility to change is, after all, the one thing all conservatives everywhere, by definition, share. But, in this, Greek conservatives pretty clearly went over the top. Invariability became a touchstone of truth and nobility in the eyes of men who themselves took pride in their own inability to adapt: most notably Plato’s immediate predecessors, the religious-philosophical

sects who set themselves in opposition to sophistic thought and the values of the democratic polis.²⁵⁰

The politics of intransigence

William Slater has argued that elite self-definition only became a matter of serious pursuit in the late sixth century: “What is an aristocrat is a question that only, so far as I can see, has an answer after about 520 BC. An aristocrat is someone who knows *ta kala* and is capable of realizing *ta kala*.”²⁵¹ Whether this knowledge of the good is bred in the bone, as traditional elites maintained, or could be ingrained through teaching as a second nature, as the sophists and Sokrates maintained,²⁵² the position permits only the simplest relationship between disposition, thought, word, and action. Because virtue consisted in following a certain code of behavior and because adherence to the code lay in the grain, right and virtuous action sprang naturally and spontaneously from the right character. In Herodotos’ fictional debate on government, Megabyxes, who argues for oligarchy and against democracy, reasons that “a tyrant when he acts at least recognizes what he is doing, but the *dêmos* is incapable of this recognition. How could it recognize it when it has never been taught to *kalon* and knows none within itself?”²⁵³

As a matter of instinct for (or categorical knowledge of) the good, noble character belongs to the realm of the eternal and inalterable. It is regularly described in terms of stability and unreflective spontaneity. The supremely class-conscious Theognis declares that “a nobleman always has a fixed resolve.”²⁵⁴ Euripides’ Hekabe, a die-hard aristocrat, defines “the noble man” as one who “does not corrupt his nature under the influence of (mis)fortune but is continuously good/noble,” while Euripides’ Menelaos chides Agamemnon: “a nobleman must not change his ways when he does well.”²⁵⁵ Even Aristotle makes a positive virtue of mental fixity: in the *Eudemian Ethics* he contrasts “the good/noble

²⁵⁰ M. Detienne, *The Masters of Truth in Archaic Greece*, trans. J. Lloyd (French original 1967), New York 1996, 119–34.

²⁵¹ W. J. Slater, “Aristo-Talk,” in D. Papenfuss and V. M. Strocka (eds.), *Gab es das Griechische Wunder? Griechenland zwischen dem Ende des 6. und der Mitte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Mainz 2001, 46.

²⁵² There remained, even in the late fifth century, “those who think they are noble by nature and despise learning,” and who believed they could “speak and act as statesmen spontaneously and off-the-cuff” (Xenophon *Mem.* 4.1.3–2.7).

²⁵³ Herodotos 3.81.2.

²⁵⁴ Theognis 319, cf. 1083–84.

²⁵⁵ Euripides *Hek.* 597–98, *IA* 345–46.

²⁴⁸ Plato *Tim.* 47d2–e1. Cf. Plato *Rep.* 410a–c; *Laws* 659e, 664b, 666c, 670e; *Protag.* 312b.

²⁴⁹ Hagel 2005 (see above, n. 26), 74–77.

man," who "is always of the same mind and never changes his character," with the *phaulos* and the fool, "who do not resemble themselves from morning to evening"; "the bad man is not one, but many, and becomes another in the course of a single day and is capricious"; in the *Nicomachean Ethics* "good men's counsels are steadfast and do not ebb and flow with the tide"; and a virtuous action is not a sign of a virtuous agent unless, among other things, "he acts from a fixed and unchangeable disposition."²⁵⁶

The implied contrast with nonelite dispositions might have remained tacit (and the reference to the *phaulos* or the *kakos* might have been confined to the moral, not sociological, meanings of the "common" and "vulgar" man). But it did not. Volubility is one of the chief criticisms Athenian elites leveled at the *dēmos*, and particularly the *dēmos* in its political role as the constitutive decision-making body of the Athenian state. The Athenian Assembly's readiness to reverse decisions was as much a cliché of historical or rhetorical portraiture as of comic caricature.²⁵⁷ The Athenians were notoriously *ταχύβουλοι* and *μετάβουλοι*, "quick to take counsel" and "quick to change it."²⁵⁸ They not only changed their minds, but never came to a final decision, always reopening the question, never taking anything as settled, and proved in the end incapable of action, because incapable of decision. For this reason their *dysboulia* became proverbial (while the undeniable successes of Athenian policy could be dismissed as "good luck").²⁵⁹ Even Kleon is portrayed by Thucydides as admitting that a city with unchanging laws, even bad ones, was better than a city with good ones that were ineffectual, because constantly in flux.²⁶⁰ The critics of Athenian volubility did not hesitate to name this mythically changeless state Sparta, where the law forbade any attempt to reopen a decision once made.²⁶¹ Thucydides regularly lays the blame for the crippling volubility of Athens at the feet of the democracy, the *dēmos*, or, simply, "the mob" itself.²⁶²

²⁵⁶ Aristotle *EE* 1239b.12, 1240b.17; *EN* 1167b.6; 1105a.32–33. Cf. Antiphon 80, B 44a.26–29 Diels-Kranz; Plato *Rep.* 381a–b, *Lys.* 214c–d, *Minos* 320a–b. Cf. in Stoic philosophy Julian *Or.* 2.50c; Seneca *De Benefic.* 4.34.4; von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* vol. 3, nos. 548, 563 (pp. 147, 149).

²⁵⁷ See, especially, Thucydides 2.65, 3.36.5, 3.38.2, 3.42; Aischines 3.3–4 (with J. Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens*, Princeton, NJ 1989, 301–3); Isokrates 15.19; Demosthenes *Proem.* 33, 34.1 Clavaud; Aristophanes *Ekkles.* 797–98, 823–29.

²⁵⁸ Aristophanes *Ach.* 630, 632.

²⁵⁹ Aristophanes *Nu.* 587, *Ekkles.* 473–75; Eupolis PCG 219; Demosthenes 18.253–55, 19.256; Suda s.v. *Athenaiōn dysboulia*.

²⁶⁰ Thucydides 3.37.3.

²⁶¹ Demosthenes *Proem.* 34 Clavaud.

²⁶² E.g., Thucydides 2.65.4, 3.37.1.

The earliest personifications of Democracy and the *Demos* were caricatures of volubility: Parrhasios painted *Demos* "with different characters: irritable, unfair, fickle, and—albeit the selfsame person—approachable, kindly, sympathetic, boastful, lofty, humble, fierce, timid—all at the same time."²⁶³ Plato described the "truly democratic man" as being, like his city, "both all-natured [*pantodapos*] and filled with the greatest number of characteristics, both attractive and variable [*poikilos*]," democracy itself as variable [*poikilos*], and the democratic constitution as "like a variegated garment decorated with every flower [*ἰμάτιον ποικίλον πᾶσιν ἄνθεσι πεποικιλμένον*] and embroidered with every possible character [*πᾶσιν ἥθεσιν πεποικιλμένη*]."²⁶⁴ For Plato, the chaos of transitory passions characterized Democracy like no other political order, save only tyranny, in which the human soul is "filled with confusion and changes of mind."²⁶⁵

Volubility was the leitmotif of antidemocratic criticism because it was the negative view of the democrat's own self-professed versatility and adaptability. In place of knowledge of the good, voices sympathetic to democracy urged that there was no absolute, natural, or god-given "good," but that values were a matter of collective agreement through social dialogue (*logos*) and the enlightened calculation (*logismos*) of advantage.²⁶⁶ In this way, the good was not only open to negotiation, but in principle always the product of ongoing renegotiation based on circumstances and need. There are moments when even our most hostile sources preserve the democratic voices they oppose. No other race, says Thucydides' Perikles, "is equal to so many emergencies, and graced by so happy a versatility, as the Athenian"; Athenians were superior in judging the better course because they "did not suppose deliberations an obstacle to action, but, on the contrary, thought it a hindrance not to consider first in debate, before undertaking a necessary action"; Athenians were unique in showing daring after calculating risks, "among other nations daring is a form of ignorance and calculation begets hesitation" (a thought that directly anticipates Epikouros' "bravery is not a matter of nature, but comes through the calculation of advantage").²⁶⁷ It is

²⁶³ Pliny *NH* 35.69: *pinxit (Parrhasius) Demon Atheniensium argumento quoque ingenioso: ostendebat namque varium: iracundum, iniustum, inconstantem, eundum exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, gloriosum, excelsum, humilem, ferocem fugacemque et omnia pariter.*

²⁶⁴ Plato *Rep.* 561e, 558c, 557c.

²⁶⁵ Plato *Rep.* 577e.

²⁶⁶ This is not the place to give a full demonstration of this proposition. For the exploration of the democratic strand of sophistic thought (especially Demokritos), see T. Cole, *Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology*, Cleveland 1967 and C. Farrar, *The Origins of Democratic Thinking: The Invention of Politics in Classical Athens*, Cambridge 1988.

²⁶⁷ Thucydides 2.41.1–2 (following Crawley's translation), 40.2–3; Epikouros fr. 517 (cf. fr. 540)

rather men who “feel their inferiority in matters of deliberation” who “rush recklessly into action.”²⁶⁸ The moral superiority of the stubbornly inadaptably was at least contested in the democratic forum. In the Athenian law courts, Andokides felt comfortable claiming that “the most prudent men are the quickest to change their minds”²⁶⁹ and Lysias that “the best and wisest are most inclined to change their minds.”²⁷⁰ Above all, aristocratic stubbornness became a subject of spectacle in the Athenian theater, particularly in the plays of Sophokles, whose noble heroes notoriously stick to their decisions—or rather, stick to their codes, because decision-making, however momentous the consequence, is in Sophokles rarely a process. Bernard Knox memorably defined the “Sophoklean hero” as:

one who, unsupported by the gods and in the face of human opposition makes a decision which springs from the deepest layer of his individual nature, his *physis*, and then blindly, ferociously, heroically maintains that decision even to the point of self destruction.²⁷¹

But we must not suppose that Sophokles admired such heroes or intended his audiences to accept them, somehow, as role models: there is after all a direct correlation between their stubbornness and the misery they generate for themselves and others. If Knox’ description fits Aias, Antigone, and Oidipous better than Kreon or Neoptolemos, who conspicuously do change their minds, the point is that mental flexibility and inflexibility are thematized, problematized, and directly correlated with moral identity. In Sophokles *Philoktetes* 51 the adjective *gennaios* (basically “of noble birth”) effectively means “true to,” “unwavering from”—but it is spoken by the most volubly adaptable and manipulative of all speakers, “many-counseled” Odysseus to seduce Neoptolemos into a flagrant betrayal of heroic principles: “stick by [be noble to] the purpose that you came with ... even if something new comes up.”

Usener.

²⁶⁸ Thukydides 3.83.

²⁶⁹ Andokides 2.6: σωφρονέστατοι δὲ οἱ ἂν τάχιστα μεταγινώσκωσι.

²⁷⁰ Lysias 19.53: φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ σοφωτάτους μάλιστα ἐθέλειν μεταγινώσκειν.

²⁷¹ B. Knox, *The Heroic Temper*, Berkeley, CA 1964, 213. For mind-change in tragedy, see J. Gilbert, *Change of Mind in Greek Tragedy*, Göttingen 1995.

New Music incorporated: Treason, strategems, and spoils

Democratic variability for men like Plato and Parrhasios could be classified in two ways: the first I have described as *volubility*, the capacity of a person, class, or state to change its resolve, character, or appearance from one moment to the next; the second I can describe as *variegation*, the capacity of a person, class, or state to contain at any single moment different elements that seem to compete with one another. Both types of variability might be called *poikilia*. *Haplotês* (simplicity) is in this discourse the normal opposite of both meanings of *poikilia*, embracing both “uniformity” and “consistency.”

For Plato the two forms of variability are causally connected. It is only because of internal diversity, namely the “mixture” of soul-substance with body, that humanity is susceptible to change at all. Only its association with body makes the soul appear “full of great diversity [ποικιλία] or unlikeness [ἀνομοιότης] or contradiction [διαφορά] in and with itself.”²⁷² When mixed with body, soul-substance breaks down into three unequal parts depending on the measure of corporality present in each. Not coincidentally, these three parts correspond to the three classes of the ideal Platonic state, and also to the three varieties of constitution in Plato’s classification. Each constitution has two parts: monarchy, whose perverse variety is tyranny; aristocracy, whose perverse variety is oligarchy; and democracy, which has no alternate name, presumably because always perverse, “whether it observes the laws or not and whether or not the multitude rules over the property owners by force or with their consent.”²⁷³ Democracy corresponds to the part of the soul that is most heavily burdened with body, most materialistic, and most attached to the body’s needs and pleasures. Because of its bodily nature, democracy is also constantly in motion and constantly changing.

Democracy corresponds to the appetitive part of the soul (*epithymêtikon*), but this is a metonymic, not a metaphoric, connection since Plato believes that the constitutions of states correspond to the internal constitution of their citizens). Giving way to the appetites is likely to cause democracy; democracy in turn causes hypertrophy of the *epithymêtikon*. Because it impacts on his theory of music, it is worth examining some of the details of Plato’s equation between *epithymêtikon* and democracy.

²⁷² Plato *Rep.* 611b.

²⁷³ Plato *Plt.* 291. The correspondences are expressed somewhat differently in the *Republic*. Later at *Plt.* 301c–303b the ideal state is added to the list to make a seventh variety. Aristotle *Pol.* 3.7 basically follows *The Statesman’s* tripartite classification.

1. The *epithymêtikon* is "the largest and strongest" part of the soul, just as the *dêmos* is the majority of any state.²⁷⁴ In *Laws*, Plato actually calls the *epithymêtikon* "the majority" (τὸ πλῆθος): "just as the part of the state that feels pain and pleasure is the *dêmos* and the majority."²⁷⁵
2. Both the *epithymêtikon* and the *dêmos* are devoted to the body and its appetites. They are materialistic. The social analogue of the *epithymêtikon* is called the *chrêmatistikon* because it is motivated only by "a most insatiable desire for *chrêmata* ["money," "material objects," or "consumer goods"]."²⁷⁶ Although soul is the cause of all motion and change, motion and change increase in volume and complexity the greater the corporeal element in the mix. In the same way the more bodily nature of both *epithymêtikon* and democracy increases the overall quantity of their motion, both in violence and irregularity.
3. Democracy and the *epithymêtikon* are characterized, therefore, by sensuality. Plato uses the word *kinêsis* (usually "motion") of appetites themselves, of feelings of pleasure and pain, of emotions, and of the process involved in sensory perception (*aisthêsis* is derived from *aissô*, "move quickly"). Hence all sensory and sensual pleasures belong to the body and, when indulged, are at variance with soul as violent motion is to relative stability.²⁷⁷ The movements involved in the production of corporeal pleasures are far greater than the motions proper to soul because they are principally movements between extreme opposites, normally involving repletion from a state of want, and evacuation from a state of plenitude.
4. Democracy, like the *epithymêtikon*, is volatile. In the political sphere *kinêsis* means "upheaval" and "revolution" and this connotation is everywhere implied in Plato's treatment of democracy. Indulgence of material, sensory, and sensual pleasure is the cause both of democratic revolutions, when other regimes are overthrown, and of democracy's own internal instability. It is in fact the proper task of the other parts of the soul (the *logistikon*, the seat of reason, and the *thymoeides*, the seat of the higher, more spiritual, passions) to keep the activity of the *epithymêtikon* in check, and to "keep

²⁷⁴ Plato *Rep.* 580e, cf. 442a.

²⁷⁵ Plato *Leg.* 689a–b.

²⁷⁶ Plato *Rep.* 442a.

²⁷⁷ Appetites: *Tim.* 88b; Pleasure and pain: *Rep.* 583e; Emotion: *Leg.* 790e–91a; Sensation: *Tim.* 43c, 45d, 67b, cf. *Definitiones* 414c. The pleasures of soul and body are generally at variance: cf. *Philb.* 41c.

watch over it lest by being filled with what we call the pleasures of the body it should grow large and strong and not keep to its own work, but try to enslave and rule over what it should not."²⁷⁸ The process of individual degeneration and political decline is the same: control passes from the *logistikon* and "aristocracy" to the *thymoeides* and "timarchy" (states like Crete and Sparta, dominated by the nobler passions), to oligarchy, and finally, when the *epithymêtikon* takes over, to democracy and tyranny. The hierarchy of psychic and political states is correlated to the degree of stability within the constitutions themselves, with "reason" and "aristocracy" being "difficult to budge," whereas oligarchy, like a diseased man "requires only a tiny impulse" to topple it into democracy, while democracy and the democratic character titubate constantly between oligarchy and tyranny.²⁷⁹ This is partly because degeneration, in states as in individuals, lays internal divisions ever barer and thereby increases their mutual antagonism. In Plato's musical language degeneration moves from "harmony" to "discord," and from "simplicity" to *poikilia*.

5. The *epithymêtikon*, like democracy, is variegated. So great is its multiformity (*polyeidia*) that Sokrates claims to be unable to encompass the desiring part of the soul with a single name (though he does nonetheless).²⁸⁰ It is multiform and mob-like (πολυειδὲς θρέμμα... ὁχλῶδες), an all-in-one kind of creature (παντοδαπὸν θηρίον), an animal that is just too "busy" to be functional, containing, notably, far too many heads (θηρίον ποικίλον καὶ πολυκέφαλον).²⁸¹ In the *Republic* a series of similes liken the tripartite soul to a mythical monster, something like a Chimaira, Skylla, or Kerberos, in which the smallest part is human, the middle part a lion, and the largest part of all "combines the heads of tame and wild beasts that it can change and generate at will."²⁸² This image of multiple forms or multiple heads betrays a critical focus on the *dêmos* gathered in the assembly or the theater, precisely the contexts in which critics of the *dêmos* most readily portrayed its variety and volubility.²⁸³

²⁷⁸ Plato *Rep.* 442a–b.

²⁷⁹ Plato *Rep.* 546a, 556e, 559e–570e.

²⁸⁰ Plato *Rep.* 580d.

²⁸¹ Plato *Rep.* 590a–b, 588e, 588c. Cf. the Old Oligarch (*Ath. Pol.* 2.7–8) who complained that through its naval empire the Athenian democracy learned to mix indiscriminately the language, lifestyle and dress of all Greeks and barbarians.

²⁸² Plato *Rep.* 588c.

²⁸³ The audience of the theater is described as *pantoioi* (Plato *Laws* 665e) and *pantodapoi* (Plato

6. Democracy and the *epithymêtikon* are also more inclusive than their congeners. The *epithymêtikon* notably contains not only rival desires but also contradictory desires. Democracy, through its commitment to liberty, also coexists with its enemies, and includes people and institutional structures that adhere to other constitutional types. Democracy does not so much replace other constitutions as include every variety in a confused jumble: it is a “constitution market” (παντοπώλιον πολιτειῶν).²⁸⁴ Indeed the democratic man, like democracy, is not the slave of his appetites so much as his impulses: “one day he’s drunk and listening to pipe music, the next he’s on a diet of bread and water, the next he’s training in the gym, and then lazing about and indolent, and then he studies philosophy.”²⁸⁵ For Plato, at least, democracy can share the characteristics of lion as well as the snake, but a lion that is out of control.

What is true of democracy is true of every manifestation of democratic culture. Sophistry is every bit as varied and voluble as the *dêmos*. Sophists are a “motley mob,” a “genus of every variety,” a mixture of “men resembling lions, centaurs, and other such creatures, but mostly satyrs and other animals that are weak and versatile” whose chief characteristic is “that they each quickly exchange their shapes and their capacity for action with each other.”²⁸⁶ And like the *dêmos* itself, to which he panders, the sophist is “many-headed.”²⁸⁷ The reversibility of sophistic logic is, according to an ancient commentator, alluded to by the choice of clouds as patron goddesses for sophists in Aristophanes’ *Clouds*.²⁸⁸ Sophists appear mainly as teachers of rhetoric in this discourse and rhetoric is characterized as the art of producing rapid and arbitrary changes in the mind—the art of persuasion “makes highly voluble the conviction in one’s beliefs.”²⁸⁹ Sophists use rhetoric to effect changes in the mind, just as doctors use drugs to effect changes in the body.²⁹⁰ But sophists are not entirely to blame for democracy’s volubility: it is rather the volubility of the *dêmos* that begets the volubility of

Rep. 604e).

²⁸⁴ Plato Rep. 557d.

²⁸⁵ Plato Rep. 561c–d.

²⁸⁶ Plato Plt. 291a–b with C. J. Rowe, *Plato: Statesman*, edited with introduction and commentary, Warminster 1995, 218–19.

²⁸⁷ Plato Soph. 240c.

²⁸⁸ Scholiast V ad Nu. 298.

²⁸⁹ Gorgias 82, B11.13 Diels-Kranz, cf. 11.10; Plato Theaet. 166d–67d; Rep. 412e–13d; Detienne 1996 (see above, n. 250), 181–82, n. 111.

²⁹⁰ Plato Theaet. 167a.5–6.

sophists. In the *Gorgias*, Sokrates, a lover of philosophy, compares and contrasts himself with Kallikles, who, he says, is in love with the Athenian *dêmos*. Each lover says whatever his beloved wants to hear, but, as a result, Kallikles is subject to complete turn-about (ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταβαλλομένου) to please his listeners, while Sokrates, by contrast, always holds the same views.²⁹¹

Rhetoric appears as a kind of disease that spreads the contagion of disharmony throughout democratic culture. Though it might seem odd that whenever Plato portrays democracy at its worst, he does not, like Thoukydides, turn to the assembly, or like Aristophanes, to the lawcourts. The kinetic center of democratic volubility is for Plato always the theater, as if it were the very *epithymêtikon* of democratic culture. Nothing distinguishes poets, especially tragedians, from sophists and demagogues, if not the fact that, while the latter unsettle the mind, the poets add a substantial agitation of the emotions and the appetites.²⁹² By far the worst aspect of drama is not the speech but the music, because it bypasses the head entirely, taking direct aim at the most voluble of volubles, the *epithymêtikon* of the *dêmos*, who are themselves the *epithymêtikon* of the state. For this reason theater music shares most of the features the *epithymêtikon* shares with democracy: it is material, sensual, voluble, variegated, multiform, and inclusive.

Noble imbecility

Plato is at the deep end of an elite tradition that disparaged the ethical qualities the Athenian *dêmos* most prized as national virtues, namely adaptability, subtlety, and quickness. By the late fifth and early fourth century elite writers had advanced so far in their reactionary ethics that they took the improbable step of advancing intractable simplemindedness as a positive virtue. From the time of Thoukydides we can detect a nostalgia for the “noble simplicity” that once characterized good men, but was vanishing in a world where faith and trust were no longer possible because the absolute standard of the good that once governed morality had given way to relativism and the individual calculation of advantage. This nostalgia particularly attached itself to the term *euêtheia*, in part because of its etymology (“good natured”), though the term had long acquired “stupidity,” “gullibility,” or “mental and verbal ineptitude” as its primary meanings. Thoukydides notoriously rues the fact that “as a result of factional struggle

²⁹¹ Plato Gorg. 481d–2c.

²⁹² Plato Gorg. 502d, Laws 817c, Phdr. 258b. It is evidently for this reason that Plato feels that tragedians will be most honored by tyrants, and second by democracy, but will find success progressively harder as they move “up” the constitutional scale: Plato Rep. 568c–d. Cf. Plato Minos 321a, where tragedy is described as “most *dêmos*-delighting” (*dêmoterpestaton*).

[between those who called for “political equality” and those who supported “orderly aristocracy”] every form of moral degeneracy arose in the ancient Greek world, and especially the fact that the quality of being *euêthes*, of which nobility has the greatest share, became an object of ridicule and vanished.”²⁹³ It is as if to prove Thoukydides’ point, that Plato portrays the sophist Thrasymachos dismissing “justice” as “truly noble simplicity” (πάνυ γενναίαν εὐθήειαν) or declares that the “braggart discourses,” when making common cause with the appetites to seize control of the democratic man’s soul, rage against the forces of thrift (hangovers from the previous oligarchic regime) and denounce shame as “simplemindedness,” discipline as “cowardice” and moderation as “boorishness.”²⁹⁴ Elsewhere Plato praises mental “simplicity” as a bygone aristocratic virtue, as for instance when his Hippias makes a favorable contrast between Achilles, characterized as “most simple” (ἀπλούστατος), and “most many-faceted” (πολυτροπώτατος) Odysseus, adapting a pattern that becomes a topos in fifth-century literature, in which Odysseus, symbolizing the multifaceted and voluble character of democratic man takes advantage of a noble hero’s naïve simplicity: in *Phaidros* Odysseus is the archetype of the sophist.²⁹⁵

Noble simplicity indeed plays an important role in Plato’s theory of political evolution, and one diametrically opposed to the qualities fostered by democracy. In *Politikos* we learn something more about the movement of the cosmos. It is subject to change because it is corporeal, though minimally so, and hence the

²⁹³ Thoukydides 3.83.1. Translators often incorrectly render the word here translated as “nobility,” τὸ γενναῖον (cf. γενναϊότης at 3.82.7) as “honesty.” The ambiguity of the term is very much to the point, but to overlook the sociological meaning, as the scholiast (*ad* 3.83.1 τὸ γενναῖον οἱ εὐγενείας μετέχοντες) saw, is to miss it entirely. Cf. M. Nussbaum, *The Fragility of Goodness: Luck and Ethics in Greek Tragedy and Philosophy*, Cambridge 1986, 404–5; G. Crane, *Thucydides and the Ancient Simplicity: The Limits of Political Realism*, Berkeley, CA 1998, 7. Note that in this passage, Thoukydides accesses the schema that pits the simple-minded against those who relied on the versatility (τὸ πολύτροπον) of their intellects (3.83.3).

²⁹⁴ Plato *Rep.* 348c, 560c–d.

²⁹⁵ Plato *Hipp. Min.* 364d–e; *Phdr.* 261b–c. Odysseus preys on the *euêtheia* of noble princes and warriors, especially: on Aias in Pindar’s *Nemean* 7 and 8, *Isthmian* 4, and Sophokles’ *Aias*, on Priamos and Hekabe in Euripides’ *Hekabe* (see Nussbaum 1986 [see above, n. 293], 397–421, for discussion of their embodiment of *euêtheia*); on Neoptolemos in Sophokles’ *Philoktetes*; and on Rhesos in *Rhesos*. Antisthenes presents Odysseus as a sophist and demagogue easily overcoming the blunt Aias in the contest for Achilles’ arms (fr. 14–15 Caizzi). Aristophon’s famous painting of ca. 450 BC, described by Pliny (35.138), shows the encounter between Odysseus and Priamos, when Odysseus was discovered after entering Troy disguised as a beggar and convinced Priamos to release him. Beside Priamos was the figure “Credulitas,” almost certainly “*Euêtheia*” in the original, and behind Odysseus “Dolus.”

movement is circular, as we saw in *Timaios*. But in *Politikos* the Eleatic Stranger points out that the cosmos undergoes a periodic reversal (this being excused as the smallest variation possible). Under the guidance of the Creator God the universe moves in one direction only, because this is as simple as motion gets. But the Creator God periodically allows the universe to govern its own motion, and when it does so, it slips down a notch toward complexity, reversing and moving in the other direction in accordance with the “innate desire” of the corporeal element.²⁹⁶ While God is “at the helm” men enjoy a Saturnian Golden Age. When, however, the universe sets its own course there is initially “the greatest and most complete change” that could ever occur in the celestial sphere and this results in the destruction of most living things.²⁹⁷ After the initial upheaval, however, the universe “remembers the teaching of its father, the Demiurge,” and adopts a more regular motion. Gradually, however, the universe forgets the paternal style, “its original disharmony takes control,” and this disharmony increases until it triggers another period of destruction, after which the god takes control once again.²⁹⁸

It is in the period when the corporeal element is following its own path from relative harmony and simplicity to complete disharmony and multiformity that we are to imagine the degeneration of constitutional forms that leads us from monarchy to democracy and tyranny. Details of this world history are supplied by the third book of *Laws*, where Sokrates describes the early history of humankind after the periodic destructions. At the earliest (patriarchal) stage, humans had the noblest characters (γενναϊότατα ἦθη). Above all they shared a predisposition to virtue that Plato identified with *euêtheia*. *Euêtheia* was a product of the relative harmony of the universe as it was mirrored in the harmonious social relations of the primitive patriarchal communities, and in the harmonious relations of the parts of each individual’s soul. In this world there was no hybris, no injustice, no envy, and no jealousy. People trusted what they heard. If something was called beautiful or disgraceful they believed it to be so. They believed what they heard about gods and humans and it shaped their way of life. No one had the smarts (*sophia*) either to tell or suspect a lie; these are arts that characterize the present.²⁹⁹ Because of this trust and goodwill they were “most easily

²⁹⁶ Plato *Plt.* 272e.

²⁹⁷ Plato *Plt.* 270b–d.

²⁹⁸ Plato *Plt.* 273b–d.

²⁹⁹ Plato *Leg.* 679a–c.

persuaded to follow virtue" (εὐπειθεστάτους πρὸς ἀρετήν).³⁰⁰ These noble primitives were "simpler (*euêthesteroi*), braver, more self-controlled and altogether more just" than the men of the present because they were ignorant of the arts of disharmony, and especially "the arts of war which are now practiced on land and on sea, as well as those practiced in the *polis*, namely those called lawsuits and revolutions which are contrived through every contrivance of word and deed for people to inflict mutual injury and wrong."³⁰¹ But this kind of good-natured simplicity dwindled as life became more varied, complex, and disharmonious. In Plato's "present day," *euêtheia* was ridiculed as both stupid and old-fashioned: simplemindedness acquired a bad name.³⁰²

"Music oft hath such a charm..."

Plato's remedy is to reverse, as much as possible, the social and psychological consequences of cosmic degeneration. The cure for restoring harmony is to recreate *euêtheia* "because good harmony [*euarmosteia*] and good rhythm [*eurhythmia*] follow *euêtheia*" (as do indeed good words [*eulogia*] and graceful movement [*euschêmosynê*]).³⁰³ The way to recreate the source of these overtly musical and choreutic virtues is, unsurprisingly, through music and dance, which, as we saw, the Muses had given men for the purpose of imitating the harmonious movements of the heavenly bodies.³⁰⁴ Music and dance had performed this vital ethical and political function, slowing the growth of disharmony in the individual and disharmony in the state, until just after the Persian Wars, when poets "ignorant of the justice of the Muse and of tradition" redirected the function of music toward pleasing the mob.³⁰⁵

New Music, it seems, simply accelerates moral and political degeneration. It is possible because of the general cosmic drift away from harmony. We are evidently to infer that the natural internal harmony of the men of the past would simply not have responded to New Music any more than they could have followed the verbal acrobatics of the sophist. The enabling condition for the triumph of the Museless and inharmonious music of the theater was that it

³⁰⁰ Plato *Leg.* 718c.

³⁰¹ Plato *Leg.* 679d–e.

³⁰² Plato *Leg.* 797c–d.

³⁰³ Plato *Rep.* 400d–e, 401a.

³⁰⁴ A. G. Wersinger, "Socrate, fais de la musique!" Le destin de la musique entre *paideia* et philosophie," in F. Malhomme and A. G. Wersinger 2007 (see above, n. 128), 57: "La musique infléchit l'éthos et produit l'*euêtheia*."

³⁰⁵ Plato *Laws* 700d; see above, p. 103.

should give pleasure to audiences and the enabling condition for such pleasure was the loosening of the bond between the lower and upper portions of the soul. Plato seems to picture the cosmos in its present "corporeal" phase as a lyre slowly going out of tune. Within it, each state and each individual soul seems also to be going out of tune. Plato's use of musical terms expressing concord (συμφωνέω, ἁρμόζω etc.) and discord (ἄσυμφωνέω, διαφωνέω, πλημμελέω, ἀναρμιοστέω etc.) in psychology or social relations are never mere metaphors. The laws that govern music also govern both the *psychê* and the *polis*. But this simple fact also offers a hope of salvation to the contemporary ills of Greece. The restoration of God's music is the first step to restoring harmony in both the soul and the *polis*.

"The just man," says Plato, "attunes the three parts of his soul exactly as one attunes the fixed intervals of a scale [*nêtê, mesê, hypatê*];" the immediate result is the restoration of discipline [*sophrosynê*], itself defined as a "harmony and attunement," by which the worse part of the soul is made to respond to the leadership of the better.³⁰⁶ Retuning the state is strictly analogous. In language so filled with musical metaphor as to strain intelligibility, Plato describes the process of discipline as "simply keying up the whole scale of the state throughout, making the weak, the strong, and those in the middle sing the same tune together."³⁰⁷ In this scale of the state, the fixed intervals are, of course, the analogues of the fixed intervals of the scale of the soul: the lowest (weak) part, where one finds "many and all manner of desires, pleasures, and pains" because it is composed of children, women, slaves, "and the worthless majority of so-called free men," and the upper (middle and strong) classes, in which pleasures are "simple and moderate" (ἀπλᾶς τε καὶ μετρίας), where one finds the "few, who are best by nature and best by upbringing." The result of discipline is therefore "the concord between the naturally inferior and the naturally superior about who must govern in the state and in every other matter."³⁰⁸

The account of the physiology of hearing in Plato's *Timaios* has a number of oddities that can only be explained as by-products of his attempt to make a theory of perception conform to the requirements of his musical metaphysics. Particularly odd is the notion that the gods gave men ears only to absorb celestial harmony through (Old) music. One problem is that the theory seems unable to take any nonmusical sound (not even words) into account. Another is the path

³⁰⁶ Plato *Rep.* 443d, 430e–31b.

³⁰⁷ Plato *Rep.* 432a; for the musical terminology, see Wersinger 2001 (above, n. 155), 180–81; Wersinger 2007 (above, n. 304), 49.

³⁰⁸ Plato *Rep.* 431b–32a.

sound has to travel. Sound is triggered by an impact on the head that is then transmitted through the brain and blood to the liver in which it is experienced as sound. The appeal for Plato of this particular route is, pretty clearly, his need to have the impulse travel through the regions associated with all three parts of the soul, and the liver—not normally associated with sound—is the chosen destination because of its location in the lower body and proximity to the *epithymêtikon*.³⁰⁹ A third problem with Plato's physiology is his insistence that different sounds reach the liver at different speeds relative to their pitch and (still more oddly) at a rate conversely proportionate to their initial speed so that they all end up arriving at the same time nonetheless. The theoretical gain in this complex process of differential acceleration and deceleration is that it allows musical notes to impact the liver simultaneously before any other part of the body and to be perceived there first as harmonies.³¹⁰ The sensation of harmony is then resent to the brain (possibly via the *thymoeides*). Each part receives the "harmony" and interprets it in its own way: the lower soul receives it as pleasure, the middle soul perhaps as inspiration, the upper soul as the mathematical proportion that preexisted bodily form when God designed the universe.³¹¹

The actual perception of sound, however, is governed by that part of the soul that dominates each individual's character.³¹² For this reason, therefore, concordant sounds are said to produce "pleasure (*hêdonê*) in fools and a sense of well-being (*euphrosynê*) in the wise through their imitation of divine harmony in mortal movements."³¹³ For most of mankind, musical sensation thus remains a bodily titillation, but one that can do good to the tuning of the soul. For a superior few in the species musical sensation gives rise to intellectual rather than bodily pleasures.

This notion is the basis for the presentation of philosophy as "the greatest music."³¹⁴ For philosophy is defined, in *Philebos*, as the science of the permanent and unchanging (in contrast to rhetoric which is the science of the transitory and voluble),³¹⁵ and it is the duty of every philosopher to emulate the changeless

³⁰⁹ Plato *Tim.* 71a–b; A. D. Barker, "Timaeus on Music and the Liver," in M. R. Wright (ed.), *Reason and Necessity: Essays on Plato's Timaeus*, London and Swansea 2000, 87.

³¹⁰ Plato *Tim.* 67c, 80b; Barker 2000 (see above, n. 309), 88–91.

³¹¹ Barker 2000 (see above, n. 309), 91–98; cf. above, p. 111.

³¹² Plato even implies a direct link between specific modes and specific parts of the soul, a link made explicit by the later Stoics: Philodemos *De Mus.* 4, col. 76–77 (Delattre, pp. 142–143).

³¹³ Plato *Tim.* 80b.

³¹⁴ Plato *Phaedo* 61a; cf. *Rep.* 591d; *Phdr.* 248d. For philosophy as a form of music, see Murray 2004 (above, n. 155), 374–83; Wersinger 2007 (above, n. 304), 45–62.

³¹⁵ Plato *Phlb.* 58a.

as far as the mortal condition permits.³¹⁶ Nothing but God himself could be as changeless as the proportions of which the material universe is a mere imitation. Philosophy, the greatest music, therefore stands to the people's music as form does to matter.

By the same argument, the people's music is reduced to a transitory and corporeal pleasure, like food and drink. Pleasure, "the greatest incitement to evil," is for Plato always the object of every aspect of democratic culture: rhetoric, sophistry, festivals, drama, and of course New Music. But "pleasure" also offered a lever with which to turn back the clock. Only the minority, as we saw, were capable of appreciating music intellectually. Divine providence, however, had also made music the source of bodily pleasure—indeed, had made it speak first and loudest to the most corporeal part of the soul through the lower reaches of the body. Through traditional music, which in its simplicity, constancy, and proportion imitated divine and minimally corporeal movement, one could nourish the higher parts of the soul through the lower not only without pain and effort, but through pleasurable, leisure activity. With music and dance one could create a predisposition to virtue that did not require the level of psychic and intellectual superiority needed for the study of philosophy. Just as philosophy was a higher music, so music was a lower philosophy. It could create that harmony of the soul called discipline: "The old simple music begets *sophrosynê*."³¹⁷

The idea that music creates discipline is, if we can trust Plato's portrait of Protagoras, a good deal older than Plato himself.³¹⁸ But unlike Plato, Protagoras regarded all music as suited to that end, even tragic music, and all modes or tunings—Protagoras even gave a special role to the *aulos* in education, precisely because of its ability to play in all modes. For Protagoras the essence of *sophrosynê* appears to have been respect (*aidôs*) for others, and its transmission through music placed it within everyman's reach.³¹⁹ Plato adapted this theory to antidemocratic ends. No real *sophrosynê* is possible without philosophy. However, a kind of mindless disposition to virtue, "a people's discipline and justice" (*δημοτική σωφροσύνη τε καὶ δικαιοσύνη*), a "simpleminded discipline" (*εὐήθη σωφροσύνη*), can be created "without philosophy or intelligence, through training and habit."³²⁰ The mob can be given the same naïve disposition to virtue as the men

³¹⁶ Plato *Plt.* 303b.

³¹⁷ Plato *Rep.* 410a, cf. 404e.

³¹⁸ Plato *Prot.* 326a; Wersinger 2007 (see above, n. 304), 58.

³¹⁹ Wersinger 2007 (see above, n. 304), 58–59.

³²⁰ Plato *Phaedo* 82a–b and 68e with Wersinger 2007 (see above, n. 304), 58.

of old, if conditioned through music and dance. But in this case it must be the right kind of music and dance: "the volubility and variegation [ἡ ποικιλία, sc. of the New Music] produces indiscipline, but simplicity in music creates discipline in the soul."³²¹

6. Conclusion

Economic and social conditions in the second half of the fifth century brought a class of independent and competitive professional musicians together with mass audiences eager for virtuosity and novelty. A desire to develop and promote music's contribution to the performance of nome, dithyramb, and drama lies behind the great variety of features that characterize the new style. The result was a music of unprecedented power and complexity, which took musical accomplishment well beyond the range of amateur talents.

The music criticism of the day gives us a much-distorted picture of these developments. The critics characterized New Music's "liberation" of music as a rejection of traditional forms of control, whether the laws of genre, the words of the song, or the requirements of dance. The critical assault took a pattern familiar to fifth-century ideological debate, tainting the New Music as effeminate, barbarous, and self-indulgent. The diatribe expressed the hostility of a class that felt the loss of its ascendancy in matters of culture as in so much else. Similar reactions by elite thinkers could be described for a great many arts and crafts that flourished under the Athenian democracy especially those connected with the theater industry.³²² But from the violence of the reaction, the tendency of the arguments, and the structure of the debate, it is apparent that New Music came to symbolize the most threatening and unpleasant features of democracy itself. This is confirmed by explicitly political commentary on various features connected with the New Music and most impressively, by Plato's musicocentric theory of moral and political degeneration. Plato's most original contribution to music theory is indeed the elaboration of the concept of "bad music." In his eyes "bad" meant like contemporary Athenian democracy in every conceivable way. By no coincidence, the heyday of New Music coincides with the time of the

greatest political polarization in Athens, during the radical democracy and on through the years of revolution and counterrevolution.

The form of the hostile criticism had much to do with Damon's theory that music was directly, perhaps primarily, responsible for the psychological formation of the citizen and the political formation of the state. But it had far more to do with the conditions of New Musical performance: the theatrical setting of dithyramb and drama, before the assembled *dêmos*, enjoying the license of a Dionysiac festival, and indulging in rapid succession the most violent emotions of pity, fear, scorn, and ridicule. In contrast to the New Music the critics invented musical utopias: in the past, in Sparta, and indeed in heaven—all based on the implausible assumption that ancient music, Spartan music, elite music, and God's music all sought nothing but the health of the (individual and collective) soul, and New Music nothing but the titillation of the masses. Just how much of the alleged musical tradition really was tradition will escape us without a serious attempt to outline the systematic distortion encouraged by the ideological debate. It is worth remembering that the New Musicians were also driven to invent a tradition of their own, in which ritual Dionysiac music is particularly prominent, as are appeals to founding figures like Orpheus, Olympos, or the Korymbants.³²³

It remains to ask just what effect this diatribe had on the practitioners of New Music. Evidence of frustration might be found in Telestes' attempt to debunk the myth about Athena's rejection of the pipes, or in Timotheos' complaints about Sparta, the anecdotes about his attempted suicide, or the removal of many of the greatest musical innovators to Makedonia—but in this last move at least there was doubtless more pull than push.³²⁴ If the poetic remains are any indication, the critics' influence, though great on musical theory or political and ethical philosophy, was slight on practice. Their claims probably even enhanced New Music's allure for the masses by articulating its democratic values.

Some response to the elite diatribe can at least be found among the theorists. Against those who pretended that good music was a part of ordained nature, or claimed that the meaning and value of its tunings and harmonies were established and guaranteed by god, or insisted that music originated simultaneously

³²¹ Plato *Rep.* 404e.

³²² See Rouveret's excellent discussion (A. Rouveret, *Histoire et imaginaire de la peinture ancienne [Ve siècle av. J.-C.–Ier siècle ap. J.-C.]*, Rome 1989, 115–27) of the violence of elite reaction to new painterly techniques and *skênographia* in particular, and Csapo 2002 (see above, n. 189) and Csapo 2010 (see above, n. 13), 117–39, on elite reactions to the development of acting.

³²³ Timotheos *PMG* 791.221–22; Telestes *PMG* 806, 810 (with Power 2007 [see above, n. 46], 195); L. Battezzato, "The New Music of the Trojan Women," *Lexis* 23 (2005), 94.

³²⁴ Telestes *PMG* 805 (cf. Zimmermann 1986 [see above, n. 37], 152–53 and, especially, Wilson 1999 [see above, n. 16], 66–67); *P.Oxy.* 1176, fr. 39, col. 22; and on Timotheos' complaints, cf. Wilson 2004 (see above, n. 54), 303–6; Csapo and Wilson 2009 (see above, n. 3), 284–86.

with the cosmos, could be heard the voices of men like Demokritos, the most important democratic ideologue of the fifth century, and after him Ephoros, who maintained that music was a human invention, of purely arbitrary and conventional significance, and rather recent in the order of inventions.³²⁵ There is also the extended criticism of Damonian ethics by the Hibehe Sophist, the School of Epikouros, and ultimately Philodemos.³²⁶ Philodemos preserves the voice of a sympathetic unnamed critic, probably contemporary with the New Music, when he notes that “although some declare that [the enharmonic] is majestic, noble, simple and pure, while [the chromatic] is unmanly, tedious, and vulgar, others call [the enharmonic] severe and despotic [αὐστηρὰν καὶ δεσποτικήν] and the [chromatic] mild and persuasive [ἡμερον καὶ πιθανήν].”³²⁷ The contrast between “despotic” and “persuasive” might recall the contrast familiar to this critical discourse of Old Music’s Spartan coercion and New Music’s more democratic persuasion.

Far from contesting all the critics’ charges about the ethos of music, however, New Music cultivated its womanly and barbarian associations, its reputation for high emotion and Dionysian hysteria.³²⁸ The lyrics are filled with feminine, orientalizing, and Dionysian imagery. Most striking are the *personae* chosen for the choruses and soloists of New Musical odes. With the probable exception of *Archelaos*, every known Euripidean play after *Herakles* (ca. 418 BC) has a female chorus. And from the late 420s onwards the choruses tend not only to be women, but frequently Asiatic women, or if not Asiatic, then Greek women captive in Eastern lands. The Greatest New Musical monodies of the era, in Timotheos’ *Persians* and Euripides’ *Orestes*, used delirious, panic-stricken Persians and Phrygian eunuchs, and, in *Hekabe*, a blinded bestial Thracian, crawling on all fours and howling with grief and rage.³²⁹ Such characters and situations maximized music’s potential for expressing powerful and raw emotion. These scenes might even have been inspired by a desire to taunt and infuriate the Damonian eccentrics. They could not, in any case, have been staged in front of a democratic

³²⁵ Koller 1954 (see above, n. 4), 145–52.

³²⁶ Above, pp. 92–93.

³²⁷ Philodemos *De Mus.* 4, col. 116.26–28. D. Delattre (*Philodème de Gadara: Sur la Musique, Livre IV*, Paris 2007, 212, n. 6) thinks “cette option est celle des partisans de la musique ‘nouvelle.’”

³²⁸ Csapo 1999–2000 (see above, n. 51), 415–26; and Battezzato 2005 (see above, n. 323), who perceives an ambivalence on the part of the New Musicians toward these characteristics.

³²⁹ For the Orientalizing and effeminizing tendencies of New Musical monody, see, especially, E. Hall, *The Theatrical Cast of Athens: Interactions Between Ancient Greek Drama and Society*, Oxford 2006, 255–320.

audience with serious concerns about musical emasculation. Indeed, for most Athenians, even for the average even-tempered, non-theoretical elites, the political furor inspired by the New Music was forgotten by the late fourth century,³³⁰ when even Timotheos’ dithyrambs acquired the institutional stature of musical classics.³³¹

³³⁰ Wilson 2000 (see above, n. 11), 227; West 1992 (see above, n. 19), 371–72, 381–82.

³³¹ The first three sections of this chapter are a revised and updated version of E. Csapo, “The Politics of the New Music,” in Murray and Wilson 2004 (see above, n. 38), 207–48, but sections 4 and 5 are entirely new. I thank the editors of *Music and the Muses*, P. Murray and P. Wilson, and Oxford University Press for permission to reprint much of the material in sections 1–3 and 6. This research was made possible by an Australian Research Council Discovery Grant.

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